National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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THE JOHNSON CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA.

The President's adjutants had the entire matter well in hand. First, the more prominent and particularly ill-famed Copperheads were manipulated, to induce their absence from the Convention. Vallandigham, of them all, held out longest. His case was disposed of only after a violent struggle between him and his delegation. In his letter of withdrawal, and the resolution of his delegation purporting to sustain his claims, of course all was sugared over.

The second important manœuvre to secure harmony in the Convention consisted in the introduction, at the outset, of a rule requiring all resolutions and all credentials to be referred to the committees on those subjects, without debate. This excluding all topics of debate, and hence, debate itself, precluded wrangling almost entirely.

The third element of harmony and dispatch consisted in appointing the committees and other officers, and drafting the resolutions, in accordance with the "slate" previously agreed upon among the high-priests of the movement. That is,—by designating the leading members of the committees before the Convention met, and having these leading members to consult beforehand among themselves on the leading points of the resolutions and address to be adopted, even the subsequent discussion in the proper committee rooms was restricted to details.

As a fourth measure of expediency, contestant delegations were given honorary seats. Thus, no one had to be "excluded," or publicly quarrelled with. One or two attempts at speeches or individual "declarations of principles" were made, but promptly suppressed. The delegates "came, saw, and [were] conquered" without a shot.

Some very neat spectacular "effects" were produced—such as the entry of the South Carolina and Massachusetts delegations arm-in-arm, and the calling of the Convention "to order" while cheering "Union sentiments." to which Reverdy Johnson was enabled to respond, "We can't help cheering."

These various artifices are of course essentially the same which are always brought to bear on political conventions, but the magnitude of this assemblage and its heterogeneous composition, made the task of pilotage unusually difficult. It appears, therefore, that the managers have well earned their reward, which will probably not be long in forthcoming.

An overwhelming majority of the delegates belong to the "Democratic" branch of the new Union; and, as most of their leaders were unwilling to give up the prestige (?) of their distinctive party name, the "Democratic" party cannot be said to have formally passed into the hands of Weed, Seward and Company. But, by the appointment of a National Executive Committee, with power to call conventions, and of a Resident Committee at the seat of government, the "third-party men" have virtual control of all local organizations acknowledging allegiance to the Philadelphia movement. And the "Democratic" associations in most of the Congressional districts have already provisionally ranged themselves under the Philadelphia banner with sufficient emphasis to allow of no plausible retraction—even were they inclined to retrace their steps. Hence, as far as the action of the Convention goes, the "National Union Conservative" party may fairly be viewed as a re-cast of the "Democratic" party, related to the Vallandigham and Wood Copperheads as the "Republican" party is to the Sumner and Boutwell Radicals.

ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

From the N. Y. News.

On Tuesday, Aug. 14, the Convention assembled at 12 o'clock. The first part of the proceedings was announced by Postmaster-Gen. Randall, who stated that the South Carolina and Massachusetts delegations would enter the hall arm in arm. As these delegations filed in, headed by Gov. Orr and Gen. Couch, the excitement and enthusiasm ran high, and they were lustily cheered, the band, meanwhile playing "Dixie," and "Rally Round the Flag." Mr. Randall then rose and proposed the name of Gen. John A. Dix as temporary chairman. Gen. Dix then rose and thanked the Convention for their choice in choosing him as temporary chairman of the most important deliberative body ever held on the continent since the framing of the Constitution. He then reviewed at length the proceedings of the Radical Congress.

After Gen. Dix's speech, the Convention proceeded to the nomination of various officers. Resolutions were passed, governing the parliamentary action of the meeting, and, as the Wigwam, in its unfinished state, let the drizzling rain fall upon the members, the Convention adjourned.

At a meeting of the New York State delegation, a Committee on Credentials was appointed.

George Francis Train, in a characteristic letter, has retired from the Convention on account of opposition from certain members.

On Wednesday, Aug. 15, the National Union Convention re-assembled at noon, the Wigwam being crowded with the delegates and spectators. After an invocation by the Rev. Mr. Holsinger, a report was made by Hon. Montgomery Blair, from the Committee on Permanent Organization. The name of Senator Doolittle was announced as permanent chairman. A list of vice-presidents, one from each State, and a list of secretaries was then read and adopted. Gen. Dix then introduced Senator Doolittle, who made an eloquent speech. Gen. Steedman, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, reported on the contested seats. The New York delegates appointed by the Saratoga Convention were admitted as regulars, and those appointed by the United Service Society of this city as honorary members.

A letter of withdrawal from the Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham was then read. Mr. Vallandigham stated that he had received a ticket of admission as a regular delegate from the Ohio delegation, but, owing to his own deliberate conviction, and the unanimous desire of his friends, he declined to take his seat. A committee was appointed, consisting of two members from each State and Territory, to prepare an address and series of resolutions to present to the people. A dispatch from the President, wishing success to the objects of the Convention and peace to the whole country, was then read, and was received with tumultuous applause. After some debate on a neutrality resolution, the Convention adjourned, having been in session two hours and a quarter.

On Thursday, Aug. 16, the third and last day's proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention was opened by a prayer from the Rev. Mr. Snyder. The chairman then announced, as the "first response to the call for the Convention," the election of the Administration delegate to Congress from Colorado Territory. An Executive Committee, consisting of two delegates from each State and Territory, was then appointed, also a committee, formed in the same manner, to present the President with a copy of the proceedings of the Convention. The committee who were appointed to draft a series of resolutions and an address, presented a Declaration of Principles, which was unanimously adopted. The declaration hails with gratitude the return of peace, and declares that all the States are entitled to representation in Congress and the Electoral College; that the members of the Convention give Andrew Johnson their cordial and sincere support. Mr. Raymond then proceeded to read the Address. The address reported to the Convention demands the universal acknowledgment of the legitimate consequences of the war, which are, the perpetual maintenance of the Union, and the destruction of slavery.

It asserts next, that the government acquired no new rights or powers by the war; that it acted only on the defensive. The action of Congress denying representation to the Southern States appears as great an effort to overthrow the government as was that by armed rebellion. If one Congress can exclude on one pretext, another Congress may exclude other States on another. There is no warrant for this in the Constitution. Not only cannot representatives be excluded from Congress, but no State, without its own consent, can be deprived of equal representation in the Senate, even by an amendment of the Constitution.

It is also argued that three-fourths of the loyal States cannot change the fundamental law affecting the others, and that we have no right to pass judgment upon the motives of any citizen of the United States when his acts are loyal. Nowhere are the laws now obeyed better than in the States lately in rebellion. The disturbances that have occurred were due as much to injudicious political movements as any purpose hostile to the government. If the people of the South show less disposition than formerly to acquiesce in the new order of affairs, it is because Congress has withheld their rights from them. If they felt otherwise they would be degenerate sons of their sires. No people ever existed whose loyalty would not have been impaired by such treatment. The people of the South would not be worthy to be trusted in the exercise of their rights if they were willing to submit to such humiliation.

These men acted as they did either from a conviction of right or because they were under compulsion. For they have suffered tenfold more than those who have remained in allegiance. The address pledges them to future obedience to the laws.

The address was adopted amidst great applause. After the appintment of various committees, the convention, after giving ringing cheers for President Johnson and the Union, adjourned *sine die.*

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED.

From the N. Y. World.

The National Union Convention, now assembled in the city of Philadelphia, composed of delegates from every State and Territory in the Union, admonished by the solemn lessons which, for the last five years, it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to give to the American people; profoundly grateful for the return of peace; desirous as a large majority of their countrymen, in all sincerity, to forget and to forgive the past; revering the Constitution as it came to us from our forefathers; regarding the Union, in its restoration, as more sacred than ever; looking with deep anxiety into the future as of instant and continuing trial—hereby issues and proclaims the following declaration of principles and purposes on which they have with perfect unanimity agreed:

First. We hail with gratitude to Almighty God the end of the war and the return of peace to our afflicted and beloved land.

Second. The war just closed, has maintained the authority of the Constitution, with all the powers which it confers, and all the restrictions which it imposes upon the General government unabridged and unaltered, and it has preserved the Union with the equal rights, dignity, and authority of the States perfect and unimpaired.

Third. Representation in the Congress of the United States and in the Electoral College is a right recognized in the Constitution as abiding in every State, and as a duty imposed upon its people, fundamental in its nature and essential to the existence of our republican institutions, and neither Congress nor the General government has any authority or power to deny this right to any State, or to withhold its enjoyment under the Constitution from the people thereof.

Fourth. We call upon the people of the United States to elect to Congress as members thereof none but men who admit this fundamental right of representation, and who will receive to seats therein loyal representatives from every State in allegiance to the United States, subject only to the constitutional right of each house to judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members.

Fifth. The Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. All powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the General government, nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States or to the people thereof, and among the rights thus reserved to the States is the right to prescribe the qualifications for the elective franchise therein, which right Congress cannot interfere with. No State or combination of States has the right to withdraw from the Union, or to exclude, through their action in Congress or otherwise, any other State or States from the Union. The union of these States is perpetual, and cannot be dissolved.

Sixth. Such amendments to the Constitution of the United States may be made by the people thereof as they may deem expedient, but only in the mode pointed out by its provision; and in proposing such amendments, whether by Congress or by a convention, and in ratifying the same, all the States of the Union have an equal and an indefeasible right to a voice and a vote thereon.

Seventh. Slavery is abolished, forever prohibited, and there is neither desire nor purpose on the part of the Southern States that it should ever be re-established upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the enfranchised slaves in all the States of the Union should receive in common with all their inhabitants equal protection in every right of person and property.

Eight. While we regard as utterly invalid, and never to be assumed or made of binding force, any obligation incurred or undertaken in making war against the United States, we hold the debt of the nation to be sacred and inviolable, and we proclaim our purpose in discharging this duty, as in performing all other national obligations, to maintain unimpaired and unimpeached the honor and faith of the Republic.

Ninth. It is the duty of the National government to recognize the services of the Federal soldiers and sailors in the contest just closed by meeting promptly and fully all their just and rightful claims for the services they have rendered the nation, and by extending to those of them who have survived, and to the widows and orphans of those who fell, the most generous and considerate care.

Tenth. In Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, who, in his great office, has proved steadfast in his devotion to the Constitution and the laws, and the interests of his country, unmoved by persecution and undeserved reproach, having faith unassailable in the people and in the principles of free government, we recognize a Chief Magistrate who is worthy of the nation and equal to the great crisis upon which his lot is cast, and we tender to him, in the discharge of his high and responsible duties, our profound respect, and the assurances of our cordial and sincere support.

VALLANDIGHAM'S LETTER OF WITHDRAWAL.

From the N. Y. Times.

GIRARD HOUSE,
PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 15, 1866.

To the Chairman of the National Union Convention, Philadelphia:

SIR: I have this day received from the National Union Convention, through the Rev. William Groesbeck, Chairman of the Joint Ohio Delegation to your Convention, a ticket of admission as a delegate from that State.

The Hon. George McCook, Chairman of the Democratic Delegation from Ohio, has also communicated to me the following resolution this morning adopted by that Delegation:

"Resolved, unanimously, by the Ohio Democratic Delegation, That we recognize the right of Hon. Clement L. Vallandigham, a duly elected delegate from the Third Congressional district of Ohio, to hold a seat in that Convention; that we should regard his exclusion from such seat as an unjust and unreasonable infringement of the rights of the Democracy of said District, and are ready to stand by him in the assertion of his rights and the rights of his constituents; that we indorse most cordially the purity and patriotism of his motives and his fitness in every way to a seat in said Convention, yet for the sake of harmony and good feeling in the same and in order to secure the great ends for which it is called, we consent to his withdrawal from a seat in the Convention, if in his judgment his duty to his constituents shall justify such withdrawal."

Yielding my own deliberate convictions of duty and right to the almost unanimous opinion and desire of friends whose wisdom and soundness of judgment and sincerity and purity of motives I may not question, to the end that there shall be no pretext from any quarter for any controverted question or disturbing element in the Convention to mar its harmony or hinder in any way the results to the cause of the Constitution, the Union and public liberty, which shall follow from its deliberation and action, I hereby withdraw from the Ohio Democratic Delegation, and decline taking my seat in the Convention.

I am profoundly conscious that the sanctity and magnitude of the interests involved in the present political canvass in the United States are too immense not to demand a sacrifice of every personal consideration in a struggle, upon the issue of which depends, as I most solemnly believe, the present peace, and ultimately the existence of free republican government on this Continent.

Trusting that your deliberations may be harmonious, your proceedings full of wisdom and patriotism, and its results crowned with a glorious and lasting triumph in the end, to the great cause in which every sympathy of my heart is enlisted,

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. L. VALLANDIGHAM.

THE PRESIDENT ARRAIGNED.

If there be any comfort in such enactments as those of the New Orleans assassins, it is in their making converts to common-sense of those whose support of the rioting President has been grounded in a lack of apprehension rather than a lack of conscience. In witness, we give a recent leading article from the New York *Evening Post*, Aug. 1:

THE PRESIDENT'S ORDER.

In the first place, according to Mr. Johnson's theory, Louisiana is a State of the Union; why, then, does he interfere with the internal affairs of Louisiana? A Convention was to be held in Louisiana; this Convention was either a legitimate or an illegitimate body. In the first instance it had a right to sit; in the second, it was an illegal body, whose acts would be void and of no force, and whose members would be subject to arrest, if at all, under the State laws, by the State officers of justice. As they numbered only 26, their arrest, whenever their acts made them liable, could not have been difficult by the great State of Louisiana. We do not see on what plea the President had a right to interfere or what business he had to issue any order in the matter.

Next, we find this order addressed not to the Governor of the State, but to the Attorney-General. Why is this? Does the President supersede the Governor?

But, after all, it is not the Governor, nor the Attorney-General, nor any State officer, but a local city officer, the Mayor of New Orleans—as it happens, a flagrant and defiant rebel, who seems to think that the Presidential pardon in his pocket not only condones his crime, but justifies it—it is this person who takes the matter in hand of arresting the Convention. Under his skilful management a considerable percentage of the members were assassinated before they were arrested.

We do not see how all this can be explained; we trust the President, by publishing the whole correspondence, of which we have now only his order, will be able not only to justify the manner of his interference, but the act of interference itself. For the present we can only say that his order appears to have had as unfortunate an effect as his 22d of February speech; instead of comforting and protecting the law-abiding and loyal citizens, it seems to have encouraged a bloody-minded and vindictive mob of men lataly engaged in rebellion; instead of "suppressing all illegal or unlawful assemblies," in the words of the order, the effect seems to have been to give full rein to a most lawless and law-defying mob, and to secure complete immunity from punishment to the rioters.

Who made the President the judge of the legality of a State Convention? When did he hear of evidence upon the matter? Where does he get his authority for interfering? By the Constitution, "the United States shall protect each State against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence." Where was the "invasion?" where the "domestic violence?" where the application of the Legislature or of the Executive? Where was even the danger to the public peace? A Convention numbering 26 men met in a hall in New Orleans. Was it feared by the murderous mob or by Mayor Monroe that these 26 would rise and put the whole order of Thugs to the sword?

Suppose the Convention was illegal; suppose it had passed an ordinance, no matter to what intent—what then? Its orders could have had no force. If there had been a doubt upon their legality, they ought to have been taken before the State Courts, whose province it is to decide such questions. If civil government is restored in Louisiana, according to the Peace Proclamation, if Louisiana is a State, with a constitution, laws, officers, courts and judges, then all such matters must be settled and decided in the State, by the State officers, and by the courts, not by a mob.

It does not escape the attention of the Union-loving people that every outrage like the New Orleans riot, in the Southern States, is done in the interest of oppression, and against equal rights and impartial justice, by men who were but lately zealous and flagrant rebels, and who continue to boast of their crimes against the country and the flag. Whether at Memphis or New Orleans, in Richmond or in Georgia, wherever we hear of mob violence, it is the violence, the brutal lawlessness of men lately engaged in an attempt to destroy the Union; and their victims are men, women and children whose loyalty to the Union was so active during the war that no history of the war can be written without recording their courage, fidelity and self-sacrifice. It is not pleasant to Union-loving people to see the President of the United States, no matter by what accident or inadvertence, placed in the position of giving encouragement to such lawlessness, and making less endurable the sufficiently hard position of men who, with him, are hated and reviled by the late rebels as "Southern loyalists."

From the Tribune, July 31, Aug. 1, and 8.

THE MASSACRE AT NEW ORLEANS.

* * We are telling this story as it is told by rebels. We can make but one comment. For all the blood shed in New Orleans we hold the Executive power responsible. The President knew the temper of these men. He had but to recall a very few years of his own history to find himself flying before a mob like that which murdered A. P. Dostie and his loyal associates. These rioters were precisely the manner of men that President Johnson claimed to be. They were loyal like him. They opposed Secession as he opposed it. They dared social ostracism and rebel vengeance, not from the safe distance of Washington—nor as the armed commanders of armies—but as plain citizens devoted to the flag. It was to reward such men as the murdered Dostie that we took the outlawed loyalist, Andrew Johnson, from the dust, and stamped him with a diadem. And in return we have our brothers and friends—more than brothers, indeed, by reason of their devotion during the war—butchered by a rebel mob, in broad noon, with a rebel Mayor inspiring the massacre, rebel soldiers acting as "police," and Union soldiers, under Union officers, compelled to stand silent, by order of Andrew Johnson. The hands of the rebels are again red with loyal blood; rebel armies have once more begun the work of massacre, and the President of our choice, who has sworn to defend the laws and protect the people of the United States, is silent. Is it too much to say that this silence is a crime?

WHO ARE THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

If the partisans of the President had undertaken no more than to prove that the martyred Convention at New Orleans was simply illegal, they might have escaped the reproach which the outraged conscience of the land, reasoning from the manifest right of every citizen to be loyal and free-spoken above all things, casts upon every aider and abetter, by word or deed, of the atrocious slaughter in that city. But the chosen organs of the government have thought it wise to approve and defend by implication the murder of nearly forty men of undoubted loyalty, and the wounding of more than a hundred others as good, in a one-sided butchery, the fiercest of any known in a Southern city. How hard it is to prove that the police of New Orleans, led on by notorious rebels, under command of the vindictive traitor Monroe, were only so many lambs outside in the street, using their revolvers against so many wolves penned in the Convention-room, may be imagined; but even this has been attempted. What a terrible rolling of argument up hill to show that all the murdered and martyred men, knifed, clubbed, and shot—lying out in the Coroner's rooms, with no rebel dead to offset them—were revolutionists and conspirators! * * *

It was to be expected, of course, that the organs of the government would be ready to incriminate Congress for the awful and bloody blunder of the Presidential instructions to the rioting power at New Orleans. He, indeed, the President of the United States, was the only overt revolutionist, and that too, by his own self-conviction, in the events of the dreadful day in New Orleans.

* * We have yet to be informed that honest and loyal men have less right to meet and declare their views than perjured and unrepentant rebels have to vote. Is loyalty to be rewarded only by the bullet, while treason is honored by the ballot? Herein is the epitome of the President's own plan of Reconstruction; and history will hold him to it, that he undid his own work, trampled on his own theory, and confessedly went out of his own way to put his foot on the dead bodies of the men whose worst crime in the eyes of their enemies was a loyalty and devotion to the flag cotemporary with his own.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S RESPONSIBILITY.

If any doubt existed as to President Johnson's connection with the massacre in New Orleans, it will be removed by reading his dispatch to Attorney-Gen. Herron of Louisiana. This dispatch, written with the knowledge that loyal citizens of the United States were dying from wounds received by a rebel mob, assumes the full responsibility of the deed. The policy that prompted Mayor Monroe and his followers found its inspiration in Washington.

This conclusion fills us with inexpressible sadness, but we cannot resist the facts. It is a dreadful thing to arraign the President of the United States as being in any possible sympathy with the unlawful shedders of blood, but when a plain fact is to be stated the plainest words are the best.

* * We pass beyond any theory of Presidential prerogative. The facts are that certain Union men—conspicuous for their loyalty during years of war—have been murdered by rebels, who were conspicuous for treason in years of war. The men who did the deed are enabled to show warrant for their crime from the President of the United States. When Gov. Brownlow asked for troops to compel the obedience of Executive commands, and to protect the Legislature in its legislative power, he was petulantly refused. In Tennessee the majority was loyal, and the President threw his influence with the minority. In Louisiana the majority was rebel, and the President not only sustained it, but placed in its hands the army of the United States.

* * It is folly to use soft phrases in speaking of this appalling crime. The policy of Andrew Johnson engendered the demon fury which has shed blood in the streets of the Crescent City. His statesmanship has once more raised rebel flags in New Orleans. His construction of Presidential duty has led him to commit an act of direct usurpation in Louisiana. His oath to protect and defend the nation finds expression in the unavenged assassination of men whose loyalty was as conspicuous and self-denying and sorely tried as his own.

The time has come for the people to speak—and let it be in tones so distinct and unmistakable that even Andrew Johnson will not dare to disobey the warning.

Had the *Tribune* and *Post* spoken, with us, for inflexible justice, *before* it was "time for the people to speak," these latter might have been spared the necessity.

THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION IN LOUISIANA.

From the Chicago Tribune, Aug. 9.

That the President is opposed to the constitutional amendment, is confessed by his open declarations of hostility to it; that he intends to step outside the legitimate duty of the Executive, and interpose his patronage, and, whenever necessary, his power, to defeat its ratification, has been amply proven in his efforts to revolutionize the Legislature of Tennessee. * *

The action of the President in the case of Louisiana was directed to the same end. His defeat in Tennessee was too mortifying and disastrous to permit of its being duplicated in the case of Louisiana. He took timely steps to prevent such a result. His own speeches and his own messages, and the platform of his own recently constructed party proclaimed that Louisiana was a State provided with a State government and clothed with every privilege, right and constitutional prerogative that belong to any State. This being the case, the President was forbidden by the Constitution to interpose Federal force in cases of domestic violence or conflict of authority, unless upon the application of the Legislature or Executive of the State.

* * The Executive of the State made no application to the President for aid; Gov. Wells doubtless felt that the only aid he might expect from that quarter was that which the lamb might expect from the wolf. The President was not to be baulked in his purpose. There was a Mayor of New Orleans whose right to lift his head among his fellow-men, and to breathe the air outside of a felon's cell, is derived from a pardon bearing the signature of A. Johnson. To this criminal, therefore, the President turned, and upon the assurances received from Johnson, Monroe issued a proclamation on the morning of the day fixed for the meeting of the Convention, announcing that the military forces of the United States would not be permitted to protect the Convention!

Can the imagination conceive of more gratifying intelligence than this to a mob whose only restraint had been the fear of the Federal troops? It was a license to them to do what they pleased. It was a direct authority from the President of the United States to the rebel ruffians of New Orleans, if they could not otherwise prevent the meeting of the Convention, to shoot, murder, beat, maim, arrest and imprison the members, and all others who might rally to their defence.

* * * * *

Any other rebel State government that, weary of its anomalous condition, may give evidence of a desire to accept the terms of reconciliation proposed by Congress, will undoubtedly be suppressed by the President. He holds them out to the people of the North as reconstructed States, and as rehabilitated in every political privilege that pertains to other States within the Union; yet the moment they betray any wish, or take any step tending toward accepting or concurring in the action of Congress, he treats their State sovereignty and State independence as he would treat the nationality of the Comanches or the Arapahoes. He holds them now, not as national dependencies, but as dependencies of the Executive; as long as they obey his will and continue as a reserve force, subject to his absolute commands, they furnish him with a pretext of demanding the unconditional surrender of the nation to the inherent rights of the people of eleven States; but the moment they betray a wish to escape from his rule and place themselves in harmony with the people of the Union, then he falls upon them with the vengeance of an Eastern despot, writing his decree, as at New Orleans, in the blood of the unoffending freemen.

* * * * *

In view of these facts, can there be any question that the present aim of Andrew Johnson to have the electoral vote of these eleven States within his control, and to be counted for him at the next Presidential election, is the real secret of his policy, and to secure that end, and to prevent those States accepting the terms of Congress, he plays with "Sovereign States" as with puppets, ruling them and controlling them, erecting them and suppressing them, not upon any principle, but to re-elect himself.

* * The strongest rebuke to the Johnson government in North Carolina is the Presidential interference for the suppression of State authority in Louisiana; and the best commentary upon the murderous suppression of the latter, is the peaceful and harmonious gathering of the rebel Convention in North Carolina.

Correspondence of the Worcester (Mass.) Spy, Aug. 10.

Mr. Johnson is responsible for New Orleans; for the murder of the brave and gentle Dr. Dostie and his compatriots, and for all that may follow that atrocity. He is personally responsible. Upon his head lies the direct guilt. His opinion, policy, and counsels not only fired the Southern heart, but the flame was actually fanned by his own hand. It is becoming more evident every day that in all the details of the New Orleans tragedy, Andrew Johnson had been personally consulted. Leading members of his party from Louisiana have been in daily, almost hourly consultation. For two days before the outbreak, telegraphic communication was constantly between here and the scene of atrocities. When Judge Howell, President *pro tem.* of the Convention, was here last week, he sought an interview with the President, and was denied. At the time, King, editor of the New Orleans *Times*, Rosier, a notorious Copperhead, and others of the same stripe, were in constant communication with him. Voorhees, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Herron, the Attorney-General, were at the other end of the wires, receiving Mr. Johnson's orders. With devilish determination he tied the hands of Gen. Baird (who seems to have been willing to be tied), and encouraged the rebel Monroe.

The above articles are given entire, or nearly so, because the thread of their arguments could not well be otherwise preserved, and because those arguments are worth being twice told.

So general, however, is the outcry of the loyal press against the murderer at the White House, that we are compelled to quote also the following fragmentary extracts, as specimens of the current of public opinion among loyalists.

Maine State Press (Portland).

Aug. 9.—Had these Union men of Louisiana a right to assemble and deliberate, without being robbed and murdered? The President of the United States, to our grief and shame, answers this question by his acts in the negative.

Burlington (Vt.) Times.

Aug. 4.—Andy Johnson, then, is directly responsible, either through weakness or deliberate wickedness, for the present mood of the South, whose eruptive tendency is illustrated by the New Orleans riot. Andrew Johnson is responsible for every drop of blood that has been shed in these disgraceful popular tumults. Those who fell at Memphis and at New Orleans are the murdered victims of Johnson's misrule.

New Bedford (Mass.) Mercury.

Delegates at Washington who represent the secession element of a State, are, in accordance with the President's policy, not only to be admitted without opposition, but, until they are admitted, the measures adopted by the majority for the protection of the Union are to be vetoed as unconstitutional. But delegates in the State of Louisiana representing its loyal men, seeking to reconstruct the State upon a loyal basis, may be hunted and shot down like criminals without redress!

Boston (Mass.) Traveller.

After having mouthed and fumed at their expense,—so that they thought the great Fefawfifofum was after them,—President Johnson suddenly turned round, and began to court the rebels, and to condemn the loyal portion of the land, if not in words, at least by deeds, which are of much more account. * * It was known that an outbreak would occur, if not prevented by a display of force adequate to the occasion,—and yet no such display was made, and "treason was made odious" by traitors raging through the streets of New Orleans, and murdering loyal men with perfect impunity. Such is the consequence of less than a year of Johnsonian "policy." What will be the consequences of four years of that person's administration?

Hartford (Conn.) Press.

Aug. 11.—Precious scamps stand at the elbow of the President of the United States, and counsel him about the treatment of Union men in New Orleans. Verily, if the President is not responsible for his mischief, his "policy" toward rebels is.

Albany (N. Y.) Weekly Evening Journal.

Aug. 8.—A more marked and signal instance of centralization of power cannot be conceived. Upon the precedent thus established, the whole theory of State sovereignty goes by the board, and the several Commonwelths are made subject not merely to a Directory, but to a Dictatorship, in which the standard of law is established by the will of a single man. * *

We do not know what this Executive approval of the New Orleans mob foreshadows; but this we do know, that the rapidly cooling blood of the North has been stirred into quick pulsations by what seems to be a settled purpose to make loyalty "odious" while treason and traitors are permitted to go unscathed.

Philadelphia (Pa.) Press.

Aug. 4.—The massacre of Union men in the South began, as if by a preconcerted signal, the moment Andrew Johnson began to slaughter his solemn pledges. And there is not a Southern State in which these human sacrifices have not been exacted. Before Grant crushed in the brain of the rebellion, the savages of slavery sought precious lives under the cloak of civilized war; now the spirit of assassination and murder is openly invoked, and traitor vengeance is partially satiated under the smiling sanction of a Presidential order.

Aug. 3.—The more that the terrible affair is investigated, the greater appears the guilt of President Johnson and the infamy of the policy he has adopted towards the people of the States lately in rebellion. Determined to carry out his peculiar plan of reconstruction, it matters little to him what may be its results to the loyalists of the country; and though murder and assassination should follow the consummation of his projects and purposes, they are to be considered as necessary means to the accomplishment of the one great end in view—the overthrow of loyalty and the supremacy of treason.

Cincinnati (Ohio) Gazette.

Aug. 8.—This murder of a hundred and twenty-five men for no other crime than their services in restoring the State to the Union, and than that color which is the badge of loyalty, is a specimen of perfected reconstruction under the spirit which now controls it. This carnival of blood is a foretaste of the extermination which they expect to make when they shall be restored to the control under Mr. Johnson's policy. It is the kind of restoration which is hurried up by Presidential vetoes. It is the direct consequence of that which Mr. Johnson calls "my policy."

It was designed to be the St. Bartholomew of the loyal men of Louisiana—the extermination which the rebels have long promised as soon as the protection of the United States troops was withdrawn. And Mr. Johnson's dispatch assured them that this prevention had not only ceased, but was changed to co-operation.

Galesburg (Ill.) Free Press.

Aug. 9.—The further history of the late rebel riot in New Orleans not only shows the spirit of the rebel element there, but the extent of the treachery of the President. He has not stopped at the half-way house of Doolittle, but has gone to the camp of the ultra rebels.

Chicago (Ill.) Evening Journal.

Aug. 8.—Thus were the rebel authorities at New Orleans made master of the situation by the "national" authorities at Washington. This was all accomplished on Sunday night, and Monday noon came, with the "courts," and the police, and the mob, and the Mayor, all "well in hand" under the direction of the latter, until his forces were reinforced, by order of the President, by Attorney-General Herron.

Detroit (Mich.) Weekly Post.

Aug. 4.—The riot in New Orleans, according to all the accounts that reach us, is every whit as disgraceful an affair as that at Memphis. It was a deliberate, organized attack by an armed mob, backed up by the police of the city, upon a peaceable Convention and its friends, with the intention of killing and beating as many negroes and white Union men as possible.

And all this as a result of Andrew Johnson's "policy"—the riot inaugurated and conducted by his reconstructed supporters, and encouraged by his own personal order, signed with his own name!

Aug. 11.—The following portion of a dispatch from W. H. C. King in Washington, to his paper, the *Times*, in New Orleans, is suggestive. It is dated Washington, August 1, 1866:

"The officers and people of New Orleans must, in every respect, deport themselwes in such a way that *the stain of recent occurrences may, as much as possible, be wiped out. The President demands this.*"

We can understand that the President is anxious that "the stain of recent occurrences" in New Orleans "may, as much as possible, be wiped out." That stain is a legible reproach against his "policy." It is a stain, however, that cannot be wiped out, even though "the President demands this."

The Nation (N. Y.)

Aug. 9.—We think Mr. Johnson may be safely assured that, to use his own words, such usurpations as those of which he is now guilty, will not much longer be "tolerated." We shall not submit either to the dominion of "illegal conventions" or of bloodthirsty mobs; but neither of them is one whit more obnoxious or more dangerous than the dominion of a man who displays, as he has done in this last affair, as much contempt for the moral and religious feeling of the country as he has already displayed for the authority of its legislature.

The Commonwealth (Boston, Mass.)

Aug. 11.—A few years ago it was regarded as one of the most glaring proofs of treachery and general corruption in the State of New York that its Governor ventured to call a house-burning, negro-butchering mob, his "friends." *Then* no one imagined that the whole nation would, ere long, sink to the level of New York, and that the President of the United States would become as odious, in the sight of loyal men, as the Governor of the Empire State!

The writer of the above in the *Commonwealth*—a bold and a clear-sighted observer—here recognizes a much-important but much-ignored fact—a damning one on the records of the American nation: that the people are accomplices, in treason and murder, of him whom they suffer with impunity to betray and to kill; that as long as they allow him in office, they share his guilt and his responsibility.

The Independent (N. Y.)

Aug. 9.—About a week hence, a meeting of Mr. Johnson's adopted children and wards will be held in Philadelphia, to give him thanks for their daily bread and butter. This motley company of honest men and rogues are pledged, according to the advertisement, "to hold up the hands of the President." In view, however, of the President's St. Bartholomew in New Orleans, we respectfully suggest that the advertisement be withdrawn and the convention postponed; because, to hold up the President's hands just at this unhappy moment, will be to reveal that they are red with blood.

A journal, not long since trotting at full speed in the Administration harness, thus condemns the President's action while endeavoring to save his motives:

From the Springfield Republican, Aug. 16.

Leading Democratic presses are asserting in the most positive and unqualified way that the whole affair was planned and set on foot by Radical congressmen, in order to stir up strife and bloodshed in the South, and so make odious the President's policy; Mr. Boutwell's statement of the plan of the Radical Unionists of Louisiana to get possession of the State by reviving the Convention of 1864 is interpreted as an indorsement in advance of lawlessness and usurpation; and it is thus made to appear that the Radicals of Congress ought to bear the guilt and disgrace of the New Orleans riot. On the other side, some Republican presses are denouncing the President in the most violent language as the plotter and inciter of the riot, and he is accused of letting loose the mob to murder Unionists, in order that rebels may hold power in Louisiana; and from this it is a short jump to the shocking conclusion that the President has deliberately undertaken to persecute and destroy the Union men and freedmen of the South, and to restore the old dynasty of pro-slavery rebels. One set of assertions is as true as the other. The facts do not begin to sustain either. The President's error lies in abandoning his own theory and acting upon that of Congress, that Louisiana is not to all intents and purposes a State. He cannot retrace the false step too soon or too thoroughly. His mistake—and it was a great and almost inexcusable one—was in interfering at all to put down the Convention. He should have left that to the authorities of the State, and given no occasion to the rebel party to count him as on their side in any respect.

THE PRESIDENT'S REBELLION.—A rebel judge is called in to pronounce the body a usurpation. A rebel Mayor is called in to issue a proclamation inciting a riot. A rebel Attorney-General makes out his writs and marshals his forces to give an appearance of regularity to the proceeding. A rebel police is organized to shield the mob from the odium attaching to indiscriminate riot. And last and worst of all, rebel emissaries are sent to Washington, to enlist in their cause a President who seems only to have suppressed the instincts of rebellion, till he should be in a position to render it greater service. So that we now see with unspeakable indignation the forces of rebellion organized afresh under the protection of the General government, while loyal men lie dead in the streets.—*Worcester (Mass.) Spy.*

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY ON NEW ORLEANS.

THE ADMINISTRATION NARRATIVE.

Although we can but ill spare so much room for details, we give below the greater part of an account of the late massacre, by an eye-witness of the same. Especial attention is due to *this* report, as it comes through an Administration journal, and is therefore certainly not partial to the sufferers at New Orleans:

Correspondence of the N. Y. Times.

Of the origin of the riot yesterday the readers of the *Times* are well aware. The appearance of the colored procession on Canal street, composed of about 100 freedmen, was the signal for its commencement. Some white bystanders attempted to take away the national flag which they were carrying, and a shot was fired. * * In the meantime, an immense concourse of people had congregated at the junction of Dryades and Canal, and more looking towards the Capitol, some of them shouting and blaspheming terribly. The whole city was in a tremble. Such excitement as the citizens exhibited I never witnessed before. The crowd just mentioned comprised men of every grade in society, including many young in years, who were brandishing revolvers in the air, and were seemingly *anxious to be led on to the destruction of the Conventioners and all of the freedmen* near and in the building. A similar crowd had also assembled, in Common street, at the other end of the block in which the Institute is located. Many members of the police force were mingled with these crowds. They soon commenced firing at the freedmen in front of the building and drove them into it.

When the freedmen, members of the Convention, spectators and others had been driven into the building, the police advanced to the entrance and forced their way up stairs to the door of the Hall of the House of Representatives, where the Convention had been assembled, and into which they and the freedmen had retreated. * * Gov. Hahn, who is lame and walks with a crutch, was met on the stairs as he came down, and escorted out to the curbstone by two policemen. On reaching the sidewalk he was surrounded by about twenty persons who beat him on the back of the head with clubs, and he received a severe stab on the back, also a pistol shot from behind. It is probable that this shot was fired by a policeman. Fish, Henderson, Shaw and other members were treated likewise. On reaching the foot of the stairs they were beaten by the police and the mob, and after being rendered insensible were dragged off to jail. An attempt to lynch Fish was made on Canal street, but the police in charge of him prevented it, although they nearly killed him themselves by beating him with the buts of their pistols. *But few freedmen were arrested coming out of the* *building, as they were nearly all shot dead at sight.* The Rev. Mr. Horton, a clergyman from New Hampshire, now in charge of a church in this city, officiated as chaplain of the Convention. In a habit peculiarly ministerial, one which distinctly marked him as a clergyman, he came down stairs with a white handkerchief on his cane, intending to surrender himself peaceably. He was met, knocked down, trampled upon, kicked, and beaten nearly to death, while begging for mercy. The police and their rioting friends were his assailants. Dr. Dostie, intending to surrender himself, also came down. He was shot, stabbed, and treated in the same manner as Horton, although he implored the ruffians to take him prisoner and spare his life. These details suffice to show how the arrests were made.

On Common, Baronne, Dryades, St. Charles, Rampart and Carondolet sts. freedmen were murdered by the police and mob in cold blood. Standing in the door of the telegraph on Carondolet, I saw about 200 men chasing one negro along the sidewalk. Six policemen were nearest to him, and in advance of his pursuers. They emptied their revolvers into his back, and finally another one, when he was near enough to his victim to lay his hand on his shoulder, shot him in the head, and he fell dead in an alley. Another freedman, trying to escape from the Institute was climbing over a fence, when I saw him fall from a policeman's shot. As he struck the ground at least a dozen police and rioters surrounded him and fired their pistols into his head and breast, at the same time pounding him with clubs and canes. The blood flowed from wounds in his scalp, covering his entire face; but they continued their brutal assault until he breathed his last, although he several times raised his feeble and wounded arms to gesticulate for the mercy his tongue could not ask for. I saw a white man draw a stiletto and strike it into the heart of a dying negro on Common st. The blood spirted out in great red jets, staining the murderer's clothing, face and hands. He got up and displayed the gory marks as though they were proud emblems of a praiseworthy deed. These and other incidents *which I saw*, suffice to show you how the freedmen were treated in a majority of cases

The police behaved as a general rule, with extraordinary bravery and extraordinary cruelty. They were nearly all doubly armed, and used their arms with great effect and indiscriminate execution. From what I have already said, you know that some of the force were the worst rioters present. A gentleman of my acquaintance spoke to one of them in the act of killing a freedman, asking him, "Why don't you arrest him? Don't kill him." The reply was, "Shut your mouth, you nigger-loving ——, or I'll kill you."

* * The police impressed the baggage wagons of an express firm in this city to carry off the dead; one load, consisting of eight or ten bodies, had two living men at the bottom. They were wounded, and perhaps would have died; but they had life enough left in them to struggle for air. An eye-witness, whose name I can furnish, says that a policeman mounted the cart, and shoving his revolver down between the bodies on top, killed the poor fellows, with one shot for each. The fiendish thirst for blood which seemed to possess some of the rioters, was too brutal for even the imagination of a savage. Their eyes gleamed with it, and rolled in their sockets; their tongues protruded from their mouths, parched and shrivelled almost, and their voices grew husky from demoniac yells. I have no doubt but that some of the policemen and rioting whites were wounded by members of their own party, as some of them seemed possessed with a desire to shoot at human beings, regardless of caste, color or sex.

* * * * * * *

It is asked, was the riot preconcerted? It plainly was. There was no regularly organized, premeditated attack at any *one* point or time; but there was a general understanding among all of the young bloods about town that a riot would occur, and they promised each other to be present and do their "duty" when the time came. I heard, for days before the occurrence, just such talk in the hotels and restaurants, and on the streets, and the whole affair seems now to have been regularly prearranged. Just before one o'clock, when the firing had progressed but a short time, the fire-bell rang. A man in the street cried at the top of his voice, "Now the devil is to pay." Another said, "Look out for hot work." The police were partly taken off duty the night before, and were armed better than usual. When the fire-bell rang, the Fourth District force appeared, moving toward the Institute, and in a short time every available policeman in the city was on the ground. Young men deserted their business everywhere, and hurried to the scene of action.

* * It is impossible to give you any more details than I have without going beyond the limits of my desire to furnish only authoritative statements. I saw with my own eyes almost everything that I have described, and have responsible witnesses for all the rest. I have not accepted any rumors; but as I was fortunately "on the spot," I am able to give you the facts.

E. P. B.

Another Times Account.

I do not know that any freedmen succeeded in getting away from the building alive. I think that every one who tried to escape from it was killed, and I saw several brought in the alley above-mentioned, and after they fell, I saw crowds of ruffians beating them as they were dying. * * I saw freedmen shot dead on all of the above streets, except Canal, who could have been arrested uninjured. * * It did not end until every negro and white man in the Institute had been either killed or wounded and captured, with the exception of three or four whites.

* * The substantial men of the city deplore the occurrence, but all are very violent in their expressions—some glorying in the murder of Dostie and others in the murder of the freedmen.

The following extracts are taken from the New Orleans correspondence of the N. Y. *Tribune* and other Northern journals. They serve to illustrate some leading features of the massacre:

[FOREKNOWLEDGE BY THE REBELS.]

That the whole riot was preconcerted and well understood, cannot be doubted. Rebel ladies advised their near friends not to go into the street *to-day*. * * The loyal men now murdered or mangled have been, for many days past, warned to leave the city, on pain of death.

* * * * * * *

The back door of the Institute was nailed up during the massacre, to prevent the escape of those inside. Arrangements were made by the Chief of Police, with A. B. Griswold & Co., to furnish the population with pistols.

[SECRET BANDING OF ASSASSINS.]

Ever since the return of Monroe and Hays from Washington, the police of the city had been remodelled, and none but returned Confederates and Rebel soldiers were able to obtain places on the police of the city. Union men were not to be trusted. All this was done pursuant to secret societies now existing throughout the South, where a solemn oath is taken that *none but returned Rebel officers and soldiers shall be put in place and power among the Southern people.* The men of this Convention of 1864 were marked ready for the knife and the bullet. During the past two months anonymous communications were sent to these men, threatening them with the rope, dagger and pistol. * * Gov. Wells for some days previous to his return to New Orleans from his plantation on the Red River, had been besieged by the Rebels of the Parish of Rapedes, and was compelled to protect himself by a guard of armed men.

[THE PRESIDENT'S AGENCY.]

Strenuous efforts are being made at Washington and in this city by interested parties to stop the military investigation going on, fearing the results. The President is doing all he dare to screen the guilty parties, and is only prevented by the intermixed remonstrance of Gens. Grant and Sheridan from handing the city back to the control of the murderers of our Union men.

* * * * * * *

There is sworn testimony that, after Dr. Dostie was supposed to have been shot and stabbed to death, the mob gave three cheers for President Johnson and Jefferson Davis. * * It will be sworn to that a well-known, respected and peaceable citizen remonstrated with the mob and police for their butchery, when the mob cried, "D—n them, kill them! The President is with us. Haven't we seen his order to-day?"

* * This applause was more emphatic whenever the mob was reminded by any leader that "President Johnson is with us."

[THE SPIRIT OF 1861 STILL ALIVE.]

Such exclamations as, "damn you, we have fought you for four years and will fight you again!" were of frequent occurrence during the massacre, and will be testified to before the Commission. * * Rebels are complaining that they did not kill enough Yankees and conventioners, but brag that the time is coming when they will finish their work.

[EFFECTS IN THE GULF STATES.]

Union men are afraid to go out on the streets after dark, and invariably barricade their homes during the night, while the present police is composed of Thugs. Life is terribly insecure, day or night.

* * * * * * * *

A conservative gentleman, just arrived from Alabama, states that, emboldened by the riots in this city and the President's policy, the rebels have commenced persecuting Union men with the intention of forcing them to leave the State. Within the past three days over 1,000 Union people have fled to the North, and before the lapse of another week the number will have been greatly increased.

[THE END NOT YET.]

At the meeting to be held on the 12th of August to send delegates to the September Loyalists Convention, a repetition of the late scenes are anticipated. Attorney-Gen. Herron, now in charge of the State, says there shall be no such meeting, and Mayor Monroe is swearing in all the Thugs as a special force for police duty on that day.

The 1,700 original free colored people propose to co-operate with the Unionists in their coming meeting, but desire to send no colored delegates. There is no reason for doubting that, should Mayor Monroe inaugurate another riot, the ball will roll into every district South.

[GEN. BANKS ON THE MASSACRE.]

The following is part of a letter written by Gen. Banks to the Washington *National Republican*, in reply to one from Mr. King of the New Orleans *Times*:

"The Convention was the ostensible, and not the latent cause of the outbreak. One word from the recognized authorities of the United States in New Orleans would have secured its adjournment.

"There were other causes of offence than the convocation of this assembly. Its members were and had been firm supporters of the government and decided opponents of its enemies. They were therefore marked men. The wounds inflicted upon the body of Dr. Dostie will show by their number and result the intent and assurance of his murderers. He and his associates were dangerous men to the enemies of this country. The unseen hand that smote him was that which applied the torch to the city of New York, and by which Lincoln fell."

THE LOUISIANA CONVENTION.—ITS LEGALITY AND ITS MISSION.

THIS article is of interest, as showing what the colored people of Louisiana expected to attain by the now assassinated Convention. They wanted to test the *moral force* of their vote—even though it would have been but an informal and invalid one.

From the New Orleans Tribune, July 24.

We favor the assembling of the Convention of 1864, as a means of coming to a general vote of the people. We admit this Convention to be illegal; but at the same time we must recognize that it has exercised a power *de facto*, and that it bids fair to still exercise a similar power. Let them come before the people with a proposed constitution, and give us an opportunity of expressing the popular will. Several years have elapsed since the Free State party, whose work was continued by the Central Committee, endeavored to inaugurate a policy based on the action of the people, in their primary capacity. But obstacles have always been found in the way. Gen. Banks, when he called forth the election of 1864, had in his power the electing of the Conventioners by the generality of the people. He went to the white men only. Gov. Hahn had for several months an "opportunity" to enlarge the electoral franchise, by making public President Lincoln's letter, and calling together the Legislature, or even the Convention. *He chose to secrete that letter in his pocket.* Self-government, in the true sense of the word, was thus denied to Louisiana. The Republican Convention of October, 1864, discussed a plan of substituting a constitution to the people. Since then the Central Executive Committee had under consideration the call for a spontaneous Convention, but concluded that any constitution which they might submit to the people would not receive a full vote (either in the affirmative or negative) unless the State authorities concurred in the movement. Now, by the action of the Convention of 1864, we see that, for the first time since the work of reconstruction has been started, or even thought of, *we have a fair prospect of the whole people being brought together for consultation.* This first chance for our citizens of exercising the sovereign power must not be neglected. Should the Convention and the State authorities fail in this, we will not be worse off than before. We will have compromised nothing and lost nothing. The Convention of 1864 may be irretrievably broken up; their power may be contested and annihilated. This, however, will not bear upon us. This Convention is an extraneous power, which does not emanate from the whole people. But, as a *de facto* organization, that body, if they succeed in their plan, may give the people the first opportunity of exercising their rights.

This will, unquestionably, be a great progress. The first exercise of the right to vote—be it used for rejecting an imperfect and unrepublican constitution—will of itself inaugurate a political revolution in Louisiana, a revolution more deep and more important than any of the reforms already attempted or partially realized.

Why should we not take this chance of enjoying, for one time at least, our right of sovereignty? Why should we not encourage the Convention of '64 in their efforts, in so much as they are directed toward that end? Let us vote once, in all the parishes, at the official polls; and then we may quietly wait for the future.

Let us vote once. We want to exercise the sovereignty of the people; we want a practical means of exercising that sovereignty. The Central Committee have decided that they are not in a condition to furnish this means. We now see that the Convention of 1864 may possibly furnish it. We certainly will not overlook that opportunity.

ATTEMPT TO REVIVE THE SLAVE-TRADE.

INFORMATION has been received at the Navy Department of the capture of a slaver in Pensacola Bay, Fla., by the United States sloop Augustine, having on board 150 freedmen, secured at Mobile, Ala., and bound for Cuba. The system has been, to enlist colored laborers about Mobile, run them up the railroad to Greenville, Ala., switch on to the Pensacola road, and run down to a plantation in Florida, near the Escalabia river, place the negroes upon flat boats, float down to tide-water, ship them on board sloops, and, passing by Pensacola, gain the sea, and land their human freight in slavery. Parties in New Orleans, Mobile and New York are implicated in the affair.

A Mobile paper of July 28 is responsible for the following: "A sloop was overhauled in Mobile lower bay early on Tuesday morning, July 17, by the United States cutter, having on board fifty negroes, whom the parties were about to carry to Cuba and sell into slavery. These negroes had been collected at different employment offices in Louisville, Nashville, and Memphis, under a promise of $30 per month to work on a plantation. The captain and crew of the ship were ironed and placed on board the sloop of war Augustine for safekeeping, and will be forwarded to Washington."

There are reasons for suspecting that steamers Virgininga and George Williams, and schooner Sunnyside, were interested in this slave-trade, and that the schooner Gharles Henry, that cleared at Mobile on the 7th July, for Fowl river, with a cargo of lumber and laborers, was to take about 150 negroes to sea.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

The Navy Department professes not to know of the truth of the above reports, but they are signally confirmed by the following from the Atlanta (Ga.) *Intelligencer*, a rebel paper:

An enterprising genius has been in this city for some time past, engaged in collecting up negro boys between the ages of 15 and 20 years. To a number of these unsuspecting youths he has represented himself as a son of the late President Lincoln, and pictured to them in glowing terms the splendors of a home he will take them to in Cuba, which place he gives them to understand is somewhere in the North. He agrees to pay $20 per month and defray all travelling expenses. On reaching Cuba they will receive all sorts of good clothes and plenty to eat, and light labor only required of them. How successful this swindling scamp has been, we have no knowledge, and of his real purposes we are equally ignorant. That he has found dupes we can readily believe, and have not a doubt that many have been induced to leave comfortable homes. It has been observed that every western train bears hence large and small squads of negroes, many of whom have no knowledge of their destination. They have been employed, their present expenses are being paid, they receive kind treatment and flattering promises, and that is about all they know. If the truth would be known, there is sad work going on, and poor Cuffee is learning that his imaginary troubles did not end when is freedom was attained.

THE NEW DIX-MONROE DOCTRINE.—"If any man hoists the American flag in New Orleans, shoot him on the spot."—*Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1866.

THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION.

THE great Rebel Convention has met and adjourned. Some men despise it as a failure, sure to have no important results. We regard it differently. Even if its immediate results are unimportant—which is by no means certain—it will probably prepare the way for a desperate conflict in 1868. Newspaper critics make themselves merry over the insignificance of one and another of the actors in this Convention, but we should do well to remember that many of its leading members are men thoroughly used to political management, accustomed to wield great States—cunning men, utterly unscrupulous, and backed by the whole patronage of the government. Some men are fond of comparing this assembly with the Democratic Convention which nominated McClellan at Chicago. But there are two great points of difference: it was war time then—and the patronage of the government was against Chicago. Now the government is on the side of the rebels; and besides, we have fallen from the high level of war enthusiasm to the murky vapors and dark by-paths of politics.

We are free to confess that we see great reason to fear the effect of such a Convention as that of Philadelphia. Not that it is at all likely that party will be able to carry many elections this Fall. On the contrary, everything bids fair for great Republican success. But what is the meaning of a Republican success? To what is the party pledged? Of what principle does their success guarantee the triumph? Of no principle whatever. They are pledged to nothing vital. Their canvass involves no principle. Republican orators continually tell us to be of good courage—the party will succeed. Grant it: what help does its success give to the negro? What promise does it hold out of claiming for him his rights? They do not enter the canvass even claiming for him the ballot; is it likely they will come out from it ready to do for him more than they offered? Is there such a case in our party history?

Congress, the proper representative of the Republican party, has yielded the Gibraltar of the question of suffrage. It lays before the country the proposed Constitutional Amendment, the plan of which is to punish—weaken—the States, while they refuse the negro his ballot. Not four weeks ago Republicans denounced us for doubting the assertions of Congressmen that even the adoption of those amendments would not secure the admission of the Rebel States, that Congress would still insist on impartial suffrage as a condition of admission, that the Amendment was only part of its policy, etc., etc. But read the speeches of Mr. Senator Wilson, at Natick and at Boston, and you will see that he parades these Amendments as the "policy" of Congress—as its answer to Johnson's "policy;" and both speeches allow that, those amendments once adopted, the States will be allowed to return. Congress, therefore, surrenders the real question at issue. Suppose, therefore, that the Fall elections do sustain the Republican party; then, if the Amendment is adopted, the Rebel States take their places in Congress at once. Once there, and wielding their present representation (based on counting three-fifths slave basis), which they must do till a new apportionment is made—how much mischief may not be consummated in those few months?

But, even after a new apportionment, every credible witness assures us, the South will prefer, years to come, the compact strength of a reduced white basis to the Democratic reality of negro suffrage.

But suppose, after Republican success this Fall, Congress meets and finds the Amendments rejected? That same syren voice, *expediency*, which dictated giving up the question of negro suffrage, will justify and demand they shall surrender the idea embodied in the Amendment, and, falling still lower, find some basis or theory on which they and the Rebels can meet and unite in a joint Congress.

We see, therefore, no hope on the mere success of the Republican party this Fall, with the canvass conducted according to present avowals. The South fights to avert negro suffrage. Having failed to sustain slavery by war, she now plans to come as near as possible toward effecting the same thing by political intrigue. *There is no political party in the North that meets her on this issue. This is the danger.* The people are wise enough, mean well enough; but lack concentration, organization and leaders.

Now, in such circumstances, the plot concocted at Philadelphia is to be feared. Wily men, corrupt men, willing to use any means—their ability doubled by their utter unscrupulousness—wielding wealth and patronage, men bearing the *prestige* of many a success hitherto; such men are a power! Men of moderate capacity, when they act unfettered by any sense of right and wrong, equal themselves to great minds for a while. This explains Napoleon III. When the Devil made him up, he took care not to burden him with any moral sense, and hence this jockey, riding without weight, has distanced many a competitor, abler, but burdened with a conscience. One valuable confession we wrench from this Convention. The promises they feel obliged to make, the principles they see it wise to profess, the coat their hypocrisy compels them to assume, show us what, *in their opinion*, is the opinion of the loyal North. Thus we gauge what, in their judgment, the people long for, and will have, unless baulked. This list is: no slavery payment of the nation's debt, no right of secession, and equal civil rights everywhere for all men. A valuable confession that. If even the rebels confess so much, what is probably the real heart of the masses? Does it not claim equal suffrage also? The address of this Convention informs us of its standpoint in the first line—"Since the meeting of the LAST NATIONAL CONVENTION IN 1860." Consequently, there has been no *Nation* since 1860! Surely there have been conventions enough professing to represent all the loyal States; but, you observe, in their view there has not been, *because there could not* be *without the rebels*, any *National* Convention since 1860! The argument against the proposed Constitutional Amendment is based on the same idea; and, if valid, covers the Anti-Slavery Amendment of 1864, rendering that also null and void. Do the Southern members of this Convention intend to warn us that they reserve the right to contest that when a favorable opportunity occurs? We know not. All we do know is, that the South organized her forces at that Convention. She deployed them into line. Her right rests on Philadelphia, under Weed, Seward, Vallandigham and Garret Davis. Her left is encamped at New Orleans, with Mayor Monroe and his butchers for General and Staff. The Headquarters are at the White House; and the next move will be on the *Capitol*, holding Senate and House of Representatives. Our duty is, to put there men, who will, at every hazard, *save the Nation*, remembering that they stand where the Long Parliament stood in 1649; and though the block and axe in front of the palace may be no fitting measure now, they are bound to find and to use some measure fit and efficient to secure their purpose, the deposition of the perjured and usurping traitor. But, alas! the courage and "thoroughness" which would make that *possible*, would at the same time make it *unnecessary*. In the presence of a united North, led by courageous men, there would be now, as in 1862, no rebel Democratic party worth counting.

Some foresee a *coup d'état* in the literal sense—a violent move against Congress. We hardly expect that. That is too good to be true. The cunning traitors at Philadelphia do not intend to give the North any such advantage. They see their mistake at Sumter, and have no intention of repeating it. "The burnt child dreads a painted fire," says the proverb. Thoroughly whipped in that method, the South will never risk provoking another 1861, if it can possibly be avoided. The move upon Congress—upon what this traitor Accident dares to describe as "*a body called, or which assumes to be, the Congress of the United States*"—will be made under legal forms. The trick will be so covered that it will bear a specious argument of constitutionality. Seward belongs to the Barnum, not to the Cromwell class. But whether a blow come from Jefferson Davis's hand, or a trick from the brain of Wm. H. Seward, either will fail in the end. We have no fears for the *final* result. *Justice* will triumph. We have God's promise for that. The Jew in Egypt, burdened and crushed, never doubted he should see Canaan. God had promised that. But whether in four years or in forty, or through what perils, none could tell. We, too, shall reach our Canaan. But whether in four years or forty—through what perils—whether as one nation or two—whether all gathered round the temple at Jerusalem, or with one king there another in Samaria—none can tell.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

GOVERNMENTAL POWERS.

AMONG the many delusions in which human beings live, one of the most remarkable is the assumption that they really believe all the articles of the ecclesiastical or political creeds which they emphatically announce and frequently repeat. Propositions embodying grave truths learned in childhood, stereotyped on the memory by their daily utterance, often lose much of their power over our souls by our verbal familiarity with them. Most persons, who cannot remember the time when the language of the Bible was new and unfamiliar to their ears, often find a mental effort necessary to derive from some of its grandest utterances their full force and richness. The articles of faith propounded to a neophyte, at his entrance into the communion of his church, are oftener *received* than *believed*; assented to without hesitation or doubt, because those formulas are associated with his life-long religious instruction, and he has been taught from childhood to regard them as the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Because he does not doubt them, he may fancy that he believes them, though they make no part of his spiritual or intellectual life,—even though his life may be at variance with them.

Thus it is with the fundamental doctrines of political creeds. First embodied in language by a people who have partially wrought out the ideas in their own experience, and to whom the formulas are indeed "thoughts that breathe" in their daily lives, and "words that burn" in their glowing aspirations, they are soon enshrined as oracles in national temples, taught as fundamental principles of government to succeeding generations, who enthusiastically shout their praise until, by slow descent through years of moral deterioration, they lose sight of the informing idea of those familiar propositions, and cherish only the words left empty by this sacrilegious exorcism.

An illustration of the delusion of which I have spoken is found in the fact that the American people profess to believe that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." This doctrine is written in the fundamental creed of the nation's political faith; it is repeated and paraphrased to delighted audiences, who hail it with noisy applause. He would be accounted a heretic who should deny it; yet, either the nation does not believe it, or it does believe that its own government is a very unjust one. What proportion of "the governed" in this nation have an opportunity of expressing their "consent" to the laws which govern them? Throughout the land, one-half of the adult portion of "the governed" are, by general consent of the other half, deprived of this opportunity, and are, consequently, governed by power *not* derived from their "consent;" *i.e.*, according to our national doctrine, unjustly governed. Of the other half, a class made strong by numbers, wealth, education, and political power, deprive a smaller, poorer and weaker class of this opportunity, and govern them without their "consent," because the complexion of the latter is darker than their own. Legislators in their halls, lawyers at the bar, judges on the bench, ministers in the pulpit, politicians all over the land, defend with grave argument this course of action; yet nearly every one of them will respond assentingly to the proposition that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Do they really *believe* it? Of course they do not. They imagine that they do. What they really believe is, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of a portion of the governed, in which portion *they* are included. If they should be placed among the excluded portion, they might really believe the former proposition, and defend it with eloquent fervor.

Yet, in the strict sense of the word, the American people, generally, are not hypocrites. Their words and their deeds continually condemn and belie each other; in the political oratory of national festival days, they seem to sit in awful judgment on themselves, and by their homilies on liberty and justice prove that they have been "verily guilty concerning their brother:" yet they are only half conscious of their absurd and flagrant inconsistency, because they are only half conscious of the meaning of the high words which they take upon their lips. To their eyes and ears and hearts, the grand ideas of those words died out long ago, and they use them only as party catchwords or rhetorical embellishments. It is of the masses of the people that I say this, not meaning to deny that there are men who are wilfully false leaders of the half-blind, and who merit the stern denunciation, "Woe unto you, hypocrites!"

Our present revolution, with its four years' war and subsequent political convulsion, is arousing a new life in the people; is recalling the old life into their dead formulas; is forcing on their attention such stern facts, and problems of such vital interest, that they can scarcely fail to read anew and to interpret more correctly the principles on which our government professes to be founded. The claims of the long-subject race are pressing so forcibly upon us now, are so clearly manifest in the light of our recent national experience, that it seems as if the nation must soon see and feel the absurd incongruity between its practice and its political creed, and be driven by very shame to abandon one or the other. In its choice between them will lie its life or death. These are hours in which to urge, steadily and hopefully, upon its conscience, arguments drawn from its own declarations of human rights and governmental justice; for in these rapidly-passing hours this nation may be, half-blindly, half-unconsciously, deciding the question whether it shall rise to true national greatness and real prosperity, or whether it shall perish with a lie in its right hand.

M. G.

WE invite especial attention, this week, to the outside pages. The comments of the Press on the late Massacre are less retrospective than prospective. They teach weighty lessons for the future stages of the conflict.

THE LOST OPPORTUNITY.

WE intend to gather every confession from Republican lips, of the lost opportunity of 1865, when the South was ready to submit to ANY conditions of re-admission. That opportunity they, THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS, lost, by not holding, *as they then might have done*, this now traitor President to his duty. Instead of that, hoping against hope and believing against evidence, they weakly trusted him, till now he has cowed them into submission and left the Republic no hope but in the vigilance and virtue of the people.

The Boston *Daily Advertiser* says:

A CHANGE OF OPINION.—Almost all the prominent members of the Philadelphia movement were compelled, by joining it, to give a contradiction to a great many words previously uttered; but the case of Gen. Custer, about the only Union soldier distinguished by gallantry in the field who was present at Philadelphia, is especially notable. It is only four or five months since Gen. Custer, on his return from the South, was summoned before the Reconstruction Committee of Congress; and here are some passages of his testimony in regard to Texas and Western Louisiana:

"I would not consider it safe for a loyal man to remain in Texas, at least in that portion I have visited, after the troops were withdrawn."

"So long as the policy of the government toward the Southern States seemed undeveloped or unknown, the most submissive feeling was everywhere prevalent. Those who had been engaged in rebellion, particularly those who had borne a prominent part, realized, without being told, that they had forfeited every right, even that of life. They regarded the course of the government as magnanimous in the extreme, and far more generous than they had reason to expect. After it was seen what policy was to be pursued toward the leaders, and toward the Southern States generally, they assumed a more defiant position, assailed the government, assailed the measures of the government, denounced the system of provisional governments which had been established in the South, were opposed to the location of troops in their midst, and were opposed to the location of agents of the Freedmen's Bureau. And this feeling continued to grow and manifest itself more strongly, day by day. I think their opposition to the government and loyalty is as openly visible and as plainly manifest now as it was in 1861."

"Q.—State your opinion as to whether or not the lenient policy which has been pursued toward the rebels has been beneficial to that country, or otherwise?

"A.—In my opinion it has been very detrimental, not only to that portion of the country, but to the entire country, and more immediately to the interests of the Union and the Southern Union men. It has certainly produced one result not intended or contemplated. It has led the people of the South to forget the enormity of the crime they committed by engaging in rebellion, and they are now endeavoring to school themselves to the belief that they are the party aggrieved, and the General government the aggressor. To such an extent have they succeeded in thus educating themselves, that I have no doubt, had they the power, they would arraign the government for suppressing the rebellion."

We may well appeal from Gen. Custer under the influence of scheming politicians, to Gen. Custer under oath and fresh from actual experience in the South.

Senator H. Wilson, at Boston, August 6, 1866:

The honorable men that, in November, 1864, went from bended knees to the ballot-box, and re-elected Abraham Lincoln, and elected Andrew Johnson, the men who devoted their sons and brothers to battle and to death to save the nation—who that day voted, and contributed all to their country—those men, ninety-nine out of a hundred of them, are bowing their heads in disappointment and sorrow to-night. Why? Because the man they elected Vice-President of the United States, who became President by an act I need not name, and, in consequence of it, has disappointed our expectations, turned his back upon the men who elected him, upon the principles he then professed, and is to-day the inspiration of wrong and outrage upon loyal white men and upon loyal black men South. I say here to-night, in profound sorrow, that Andrew Johnson has put the rebel States back into the hands of rebels, and he has put the black man South and the loyal white man South under the heels of those rebels. A year ago last May, when the rebel armies had all surrendered, when not a rebel flag waved in the breeze from the Susquehanna to the Rio Grande, when not a rebel bayonet glittered in the sunlight, that conquered, humiliated and subjugated people lay prostrate at our feet. They had not a law officer. They had no authorities whatever. The President himself said they were without civil government, that their institutions, which were prostrated and lying upon the ground, must be taken up and made to conform to the spirit of the age. That was their condition. Our army, a million of men, stood there, proud and victorious. Our power was everywhere felt and acknowledged. They were humble, defeated. Hope was lost; all was lost; and they were ready to take life or anything we chose to give. In that hour the President of the United States had it in his power, without any resistance, North or South, to have asked, demanded, a modification of all their constitutions and laws so as to secure the civil rights of all men, and to have given the black men the same rights possessed by the white men. It was in his power to do it. They expected him to do it. He met no man in the South in May or June of last year who was not ready to do it. The Northern presses expected him to do so. The religious assembly of ministers that met in this city then demanded civil and equal rights for the emancipated bondmen, and the right of suffrage, too. The old Democratic organ of Massachusetts (I mean the *Post*) thought that it would come. The *World*, the leading Democratic organ of the country, said that suffrage would come to the black man by-and-by. The *News* had a liberal article in favor of negro suffrage. In a word, all over the country the people, the Christian men of this country, demanded or expected the President of the United States to secure equality of rights for the emancipated bondmen. When he announced that policy of his, our wisest, truest and best men—the men who had studied this question for many years—protested against it.

Gov. Dennison, in the letter from which we quoted last week, admits, regarding the opportunity of 1865, that—

For several months immediately following the suppression of the rebellion, the people of the Southern States, under the consciousness of deserving only such treatment from the government as its generous instincts might prompt it to give, expected and asked for nothing more. Defeated in their wicked efforts to destroy the government, and alone responsible for the war, with all its sacrifices of life and treasure, they were ready to submit to any measures the government might deem essential for the general safety of the nation. Regarding the abolition of slavery as a consequence of the war, which they could no longer resist, to be perpetually sanctioned as a part of the Federal Constitution, they were prepared to accept it in all its logical meaning as comprehending the abolition of all the incidents of slavery, and the perfect equality of the colored race with themselves, in all civil and political rights. I do not mean to say they favored the extension of the elective franchise to their freedmen, but they were prepared to acquiesce in it if imposed by the government. It was under this conviction that the President sent his dispatch, of the date of August 15, to Gov. Sharkey of Mississippi, advising the Convention of that State, then in session, to so amend the constitution as "to extend the elective franchise to all persons of color who can read the Constitution of the United States in English, and write their names, and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than $250 and pay taxes thereon."

THE President, on the 20th, issued a proclamation, which, after a string of 17 *whereases*, reciting various preliminary steps, declares that "the insurrection which has heretofore existed in the State of Texas is at an end," that "the said insurrection [throughout the rebel states] is at an end," and that "peace, order, tranquillity and *civil authority* now exist in and throughout the *whole United States.*"

We infer from the above that "civil authority" now exists in New Orleans!

THE people of the United States, in 1861, did not believe Jefferson Davis meant mischief, until they were taught by the cannon in Charleston Harbor.

In July, 1866, they were yet unwilling to believe that Andrew Johnson meditates treason.

Has New Orleans taught them?

THE NATION AND THE NEGRO—CIVIL RIGHTS IN VIRGINIA.—Gen. Terry, commanding the Military Department of Virginia, has issued the following order:

"Military organizations or associations for the purposes of drill or military instruction, other than militia companies or regiments which have been, or may be hereafter, organized by or under the authority of His Excellency the Governor of the State, will not be permitted during the existence of martial law."

This prohibits colored men from forming military companies, for it is notorious that the government of Virginia will not suffer colored men to be a part of the militia of the State, the Southern experience of the last five years proving that negro soldiers are invariably loyal to the national cause.

"NECESSITIES."—The Richmond *Enquirer* says of Gen. Terry's late order forbidding the organization of unauthorized military associations, that without it "such collision as has occurred in New Orleans would soon be a necessity here." The Boston *Advertiser* thinks that when the organs of secession dare to talk of riot and murder being a "necessity," honest men will begin to think that a total change of policy in dealing with disaffected districts has become emphatically a "necessity."

PERSONAL.

Andrew Jackson Davis is at his house in Orange, N. J., for a season of rest from his public labors as a lecturer and teacher.

Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper, widely and favorably known among our readers, has entered upon a lecturing campaign in this State. As a lecturer, she is thoroughly qualified—able, eloquent and radical. She is to speak at Saratoga Springs, Wednesday evening, Aug. 29; at Ghent, N. Y., Friday evening, Aug. 31; at Pleasantville, N. Y., Saturday evening, Sept. 1. We bespeak for her the hearty co-operation of the friends of impartial freedom, wherever she may go. Mrs. Harper will receive and forward, as our agent, subscriptions for THE STANDARD. The Yates County *Chronicle* thus notices lectures recently given by Mrs. H. in Penn Yan:

The two lectures by Mrs. Harper, delivered in Bush's Hall, under the auspices of the Ladies' Freedmens' Aid Society, were remarkable specimens of eloquence, a sound and noble philosophy, with flashes of wit, and sometimes a tinge of terrible sarcasm. They were received by large and appreciative audiences with marked satisfaction.

Mrs. Harper is a native of Maryland, and born of a slave mother, and though her complexion would indicate an equal right to associate with the white race, she was compelled to work out the problem of early and educational life with the enslaved colored race, with all their disabilities and privations.

A people that can furnish such orators as Mrs. Harper, Frederick Douglass, Samuel R. Ward, Henry Highland Garnett, and many others like them, to speak for them, and can furnish the strongest and bravest soldiers by hundreds of thousands to fight for them, are not to be sneered down nor their claims to justice to be much longer ignored.

We are indebted to Seth Hunt, Esq., of Northampton, Mass., for abstracts, which we are unable to publish entire, of discourses recently given before the Free Congregational Society of Florence, by Theodore D. Weld, Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, and Charles Eliot Norton, editor of the *North American Review*.

Mr. Weld's theme was, "Teaching and Learning." He spoke particularly of the dramatic element in human nature as an educational and moral agency. He claimed that we cannot obey the Golden Rule without personating, to some extent, our neighbor—entering into his feelings and ways of thought and action. The discourse closed with a general vindication of the value, to the highest spiritual interests of man, of the dramatic writings of the masters.

Mrs. Dall spoke on "Moses and his Law," endeavoring to show, by historical and scientific data, the natural character of the mysterious and so-called miraculous events connected with Moses' leadership of the Israelites, and giving general information on the present and past features of the East and its people.

Mr. Norton discoursed on the relation of the religious sentiment in man to the political development of nations. "It was superstition," said he, "under the name of religion, that gave the sharpest edge to the sword which pierced the hearts of our brothers in the late war—a superstition that upheld the barbarous system of slavery, and that liked better the 'Cursed be Canaan,' than Christ's doctrine of love to all." "The opening words of the Declaration of Independence contain more than its authors and signers thought. Those words, asserting the equality of human rights, embody the great law of love enjoined by Christ." "It is true that, as a people, we have widely deviated from the principles we profess; but, if those principles were carried out, we should realize the kingdom of God on earth."

The resident minister of the Society is our friend, Charles C. Burleigh.

THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE REV. J. L. JENKINS, in the *Independent* of the 26th inst., says: "The great central reform of our time, around which all others cluster, which is the infallible register of human advancement, is *the giving practical effect to the doctrine of personal liberty and political equality among all our own citizens, and ultimately among all men.* This grand moral triumph—the cumulative achievement of philanthropists, reformers, and martyrs in every age—can be completed only by the behests of a people to whom Reason, Justice, and Conscience are all-controlling principles."

Every word of this is truth. But how and when is it to be accomplished? Is it necessary to wade through more blood before we reach this land, long sought for by earth's laboring millions? In the political canvass of 1856, Mr. Breckinridge, while speaking to the people North of the Ohio, told them that, if Mr. Fremont should be elected, the Union would be dissolved: in other words, "Elect me, or I will smash your republic." His party was sustained by the people, to save the republic in union and peace. The power of the government was placed in their hands, to bribe them not to destroy it. The four succeeding years were assiduously used by Breckinridge men in preparing to break up the Union; who, through the government, so arranged our national defences as to make the country an easy prey to their designs: then, to furnish an excuse for the extraordinary steps they were about to take, they split the Democratic party, so as to insure its defeat. This was a sufficient reason, in the eyes of political jugglers, both North and South, who had been left out of offices long held, and saw others put in their places who differd from them in their estimate of human rights—this was a sufficient reason to set man to slaying his brother man, that these jugglers might rise to power and place—outside of the channel furnished by Constitutional government—which should be obtained peacefully and meritoriously or not at all. It is reported that Mr. Blair, one of the leading "my-policy" men, says that, "should the Radicals carry the elections in October, the result would be the establishment of two Presidents and two Congresses." "He also warned his hearers that they were on the verge of another civil war, the battle-field of which would be in the North, while the South would be united." The "my-policy" party do not then intend to submit to the voice of the ballot-box any more than the Breckinridge party. Have we any evidence that the government may be continued in their hands with any more safety than it had when placed in the hands of the Breckinridge men? Blair's prophecy of a divided North and united South, in this threatened war, sounds very much like the language of a Northern ex-President to the South, prior to our recent struggle. Is it a bid to the South for them to strike again, and then lean on the same broken reed for stability that they did before? I advise them to let "my policy" give the initial blow this time, and bear in mind that Radicalism has its seat in the consciences of the people who profess it, and cannot be uprooted but by their annihilation.

How are we to give "practical effect to the doctrine of personal liberty and political equality among all our own citizens?" This is the question of the hour. Must we again have our veins tapped by political demagogues, in the interest of barbarian customs and laws; or shall it be accomplished by the quiet Constitutional action of the people, through the ballot-box, legislation and executive action of those whom the people choose to carry out their will? It cannot be done by allowing Representative A. to dodge the question, Senator B. to change the issue, and Executive C. to refer the question to rotten leaders of party. There is enough moral strength among the people, if you could induce them to act with decision and unanimity, to peacefully establish justice throughout our land: and when this is done there will be no further cause for war. Our present Congress was elected expressly for this purpose—to sweep from our land by legislation the principles of inequality which lay at the foundation of our recent struggle. It was elected by radical votes for a radical purpose. My-policy-ism was nowhere written on the commissions of a large majority of its members; yet it has not had moral strength to give the self-protecting power of the ballot-box to the Union men of the South, because State Sovereignty, which has been fighting us till exhausted, forbids it. State Sovereignty, which has acquiesced in nothing that we have done in self-defence, is still allowed to disfranchise the Union men of the South, without whose aid our government would have been numbered with the governments of the past. And this is not the worst phase of the matter. This Congress has been delivered of an eight months' proposed amendment to the Constitution, allowing these unrepentant rebels the *right* to disfranchise them. They do it now by State-sovereign authority. When this amendment is adopted they can claim Constitutional authority for the admitted right. Look at the beautiful ambiguity of this proposed amendment. Here is section first. This is intended for Radicals:

> ARTICLE —, SEC. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Now read section second:

> SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; but whenever the right to vote at any election for the electors of President and Vice President, or for United-States Representatives in Congress, Executive and Judicial officers, or the members of the Legislatures thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crimes, the basis of representation shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens, 21 years of age, in such State.

This is intended for men in heart still rebels: "But whenever the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants," etc.

The first section guarantees the right of citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States. Noah Webster's definition of citizen is, "a person who has the privilege of exercising the elective franchise, or the qualifications which enable him to vote for rulers, and to purchase and hold real estate." The second section admits that the "right to vote" may be "denied" to some "of the *male* inhabitants." It does not allow such an admission against the female. That is courageous. The Constitution, as it now stands, implies no such thing against either sex. Adopt this my-policy-no-policy amendment; then the controlling majority in some States may disfranchise the minority, if they choose—no matter what their color—and point to the Constitution for the implied permission.

No wonder the birth was premature. The infant will require careful nursing to weather the storms of the coming winter. If it is buried before Spring, coming generations will not lament it loss. The travailing agonies of Mr. Stevens, at its delivery, indicate the character of this nondescript:

> "'We might well have been justified in making renewed and more strenuous efforts for a better plan, could we have had the co-operation of the Executive. With his cordial assistance, the rebel States might have been made model republics, and this nation an empire of universal freedom. But he preferred restoration to reconstruction. He chose that the Slave States should remain as nearly as possible in their ancient condition, with such modifications as he and his Prime Minister should suggest, without any impertinent interference from Congress. He anticipated the legitimate action of the National Legislature, and, by rank usurpation, erected governments in conquered provinces, imposed upon them institutions in the most arbitrary and unconstitutional manner, and now maintains them as legitimate governments, and insolently demands that they shall be represented in Congress on equal terms with loyal, regular States. To repress this tyranny, and at the same time to do some justice to conquered rebels, requires caution. The grave danger is that the seceders may soon overwhelm the loyal men in Congress. The haste urged upon us by some loyal but impetuous men; their anxiety to embrace the representation of rebels; their ambition to display their dexterity in the use of the broad mantle of charity, and especially the danger arising from the unscrupulous use of patronage and from the oily orations of false prophets famous for sixty-day obligations and for protested political promises, admonish us to make no further delay.' Referring to the third section, Mr. Stevens said that he could not look upon the Senate amendment as an improvement. In his judgment, it endangered the government of the country, both State and National, and might give the next Congress and President to the reconstructed rebels. With their enlarged basis of representation and the exclusion of loyal men of color from the ballot-box, he saw no hope of safety unless in the prescription of proper enabling acts, which should do justice to the freedmen and enjoin enfranchisement as a condition precedent. While he saw much good in the proposition, he did not pretend to be satisfied with it. But still he was anxious for its speedy adoption, for he deprecated delay. Let us, he said in conclusion, no longer delay. Let us take what we can get now and hope for better things in further legislation, in enabling-acts or other provisions."

Here we have it. Because the President "chose that the slave States should remain as nearly as possible in their ancient condition;" and because "loyal but impetuous men were anxious to embrace the representation of rebels, and display their dexterity in the use of the broad mantle of charity," and head off the President's "unscrupulous use of patronage" and the danger of another revolution, it was necessary to do something which had a show of generosity to the rebels, with an apparent smack of justice. But what becomes of the negro, who, by the Constitution, is free without this sham citizenship? What becomes of the negro, whom the Constitution binds Congress to protect? State Sovereignty is already making laws to re-enslave him, and when this amendment is adopted, will come into Congress—with the chain upon their limbs. If Congress cannot interfere now, because the laws of the sovereign States lie across their paths, how can they then? If they cannot to-day give an unambiguous support to all the rights of man as a citizen, in the negro, can they do it to-morrow, when they practically acknowledge that he has no rights except what his former master pleases to allow him?

The war through which we have just passed was but the recoil of the wrongs committed against the colored race by national authority, and we were not permitted to come safely through it till we had promised, before God and the world, to enfranchise the negro, and accepted his aid to bring us through. Under these circumstances, it seems remarkably strange that Congress should ever have hesitated a moment to make its work in this direction distinct and unequivocal, because a political convention made a blunder in nominating, and the people in electing, as Vice-President, a man who was incapable of keeping out of the toils of political spiders.

Congress, in their anxiety to see where he was leading the party which he *happened* to stand before, which they thought must necessarily follow him, have got so near as to have the political cobwebs fastened on them; till they are incapable of moving a hand to protect Southern friends of the government or check the growth of a new insurrectionary spirit South till after the Fall elections; nor have they dared to give us any other issue to vote upon, than whether impenitent rebels shall now take their place in the government, or wait till the States ratify a constitutional amendment which allows them to disfranchise Union men, if these rebels will not ask for the representation in Congress of these Union men. And this is called a radical Congress, and even Wendell Phillips thinks it too late in the day to attempt to get one whose back will not break with the first tug against political corruption! Not upon the issue presented can we get such a Congress as we need.

[Our correspondent presents a platform of his own, on which he desires to see independent congressional nominations made, and which he claims will meet the issue of the hour fully; but for which we have not space. Its points are: 1. Disfranchisement of all who attempt to subvert the government by violence, until pardoned by the voice of the loyal people. 2. Universal suffrage and universal education in the South, under Federal protection. 3. Eligibility of the President by the people direct, and making the offices now filled by Executive appointment elective. 4. Equal political rights for woman. He adds:]

If those who desire the triumph of justice would throw away all party policy not founded in justice and let go all candidates who could not safely be trusted where political corruption flaunts the Federal patronage, and act with unanimity, their triumph would soon be complete, and a new day begin to dawn upon humanity.
WILLIAM CLARK.

Monticello, Jones Co., Iowa, July 30, 1866.

Gov. Humphrey, of Arkansas, writes, under date of July 26, that there is not a paper in Little Rock that will publish the call for a Union State Convention, and but one in the whole State edited in the interest of the loyal people. He adds: "At our election in August, the rebel element will have full control, excepting, perhaps, in a few northwestern counties. The feeling towards Congress is more hostile than during the war, and hatred of Union soldiers and Union men is a matter of ambitious pride. I would have called a session of the Arkansas Legislature, had it been possible to to have procured a quorum; but from deaths, resignations, and removals to other States, it could not have been had. I regret this much, as the Legislature to be elected will be chosen from rebels who have done good service in the war."

The result since has fully equalled the Governor's apprehensions.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 18, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE absorbing object of attention this week has been the Doolittle Convention, now familiarly known as the "great Didlittle." It has monopolized thought, conversation, criticism and ridicule. In respect to numbers, it was a huge affair, possessing that power of attraction common to those things which excite a widespread curiosity and raise great expectations. It has vanished, and now already the public voice seems hushed in regard to it. We look in vain for the good it has done, and the blessings it has sought to bestow. Those who have at heart the great cause of impartial and universal justice, can find in its action no source of hope or congratulation; for, in respect to this all-important matter, it was silent. Those who are interested in the questions involving the highest and holiest welfare of humanity, can discover in its course no proof of noble intention, for this body of men were too diligent in the purpose of promoting their own political power and ascendency, to give heed to those things with their ever-pressing claims. Those who are devoted to the broadest principles of human liberty can have but little interest in the doings of this Convention, for they expected no encouragement therefrom, and no beneficent results.

It was pre-eminently a political gathering for political purposes, animated with a rigid care to do whatever would tend to facilitate their selfish designs, and to leave undone everything that might embarrass their plans. Nothing could more thoroughly or more vividly illustrate the paramount impulse and the true purpose of these men, than that touching scene intended as a sign of reconciliation between Massachusetts and South Carolina. They regarded it as a very happy, very affecting circumstance, for the delegates of the two States to enter the Wigwam arm in arm; but people are not so dull as to fail to recognize it as a very hollow mockery. It was a great insult to the noble commonwealth of Massachusetts, for these political gamesters thus to attempt to degrade her character by such a fradulent representation of the spirit that impels and the principles that guide her. The true people of that State will treat this farce with the scorn it deserves.

It was a similar motive of policy that led to the forced exclusion of Wood and Vallandigham. It likewise put a padlock on every Southern lip, compelling the rebel representation to a uniform silence, as if they were a thousand miles away. If muteness would do anything towards accomplishing their ultimate object, they were willing to be mute. That object once gained, then will come their hour for speech.

A complete history of the seventh resolution would, no doubt, be quite entertaining. The struggles that attended its creation, the multiplicity of little harangues it occasioned, the doubt and bewilderment of its authors, the solicitude concerning its reception, and the heroic attempts to reconcile differences respecting it, are all interesting themes to muse upon. All we know with certainty regarding it is, that in the reading of the list of resolutions that particular one was mysteriously omitted. It was remembered afterwards, and read alone, and it was the most unwelcome thing there, either outside or in. It may have elicited applause in certain quarters, but I was told that on the floor of the Wigwam not a cheer came forth to greet it. It was well understood that they could not say too little about the colored man, and as to New Orleans massacres, had there been a dozen or a hundred, they would not have moved their tongues to speak of them. The hellish spirit that animates these fiendish and murderous rebels, might manifest itself throughout the whole South, yet receive no more notice from these "policy" Conventionists than if it had no existence. They would still insist that villanous creatures ought to be admitted into Congress, and go arm-in-arm with themselves into Northern Wigwams.

The people of Philadelphia have shown great indignation, deep contempt, for this Convention. It manifested itself before the gigantic fizzle was enacted. Hence it was deemed essential that proper steps should be taken to guard against violence, and protect the mongrel affair against the rage of an indignant people. So the Convention had the constant assurance of safety through military protection. This fact, so unlike the circumstances connected with the unfortunate gathering of loyal men in New Orleans, must assuredly have been a continual rebuke to many that were here, and some that were not.

The Southern rebels that came here cannot boast of a very flattering reception. Their efforts to edify a street audience were in no wise successful. Their attempts to unloose their tongues publicly encountered responses that fell with harsh, mortifying and vexatious effect upon their ears. They could not conceal their own real character, nor fail to learn how their presence was appreciated in a loyal city. They have gone home, and we shall see whether, according to the seventh resolution, which they did not oppose in the Convention, the enfranchised slaves will receive at their hands, "in common with all the inhabitants of the Southern States, equal protection in every right of person and property."

The Committee on Resolutions appear to have had a decidedly turbulent session. Under no circumstances would the Democratic members allow the resolution to be passed, calling the party by a new name. They would not be robbed of their own time-honored party title. To the force of their threats the Raymond faction were obliged to yield.

It is reported that some peaceful Alabama member enthusiastically flourished a dirk-knife as an auxiliary to his arguments, declaring that he would rather plunge that into his heart on the spot than call the new party the "National Union Party." Strenuous efforts were required to breathe into the gentle creature the spirit of pacification. A tumultuous contention reigned for a while, transfixing some of the Northerners with all the agonies of terror. Cowan and Doolittle strove hard to dissipate the troubles; but their discontented allies would not melt into acquiescence by their soothing words. How these plotting apostates trembled with alarm! Raymond, of your city, made a motion to negative the offensive resolution, which was agreed to, on condition that no speeches should be made in the Convention by the dissatisfied delegates on any of the resolutions passed by the committee. So the new political conglomeration is a thing without a name, existing by virtue of free speech sacrificed and the despotic exactions of a small clique of Administration flunkies triumphant.

One evening during the week, the Press Club, of this city, gave a banquet to the members of the newspaper fraternity whom the Convention had called hither on professional duty. As a matter of course, the various shades of political opinion were represented, but the gathering was of a social character, and not intended to possess any political significance. Mayor McMichael, editor of the *North American*, who occupied the chair, said he was glad to welcome his brother editors of the country to Philadelphia. Politics, he said, were discussed to-day—or rather, not discussed—in the Convention, but he did not intend to utter a single political word on that occasion. Mr. Theodore Tilton followed the Mayor, in some pleasant remarks, saying that he regarded the profession of Editor the first in the country, ahead of the post of Congressman, which he would not yield for any political position until it became less honorable than such. Although newspapers had made progress, he regretted that they had not yet reached the true degree of manliness and independence of character. Positive opinion was needed in the newspaper columns. He regarded moderate men as a clog on the age. Extreme men being positive, alone shall conquer.

Mr. Pollard, of the Richmond *Examiner*, then being called upon, made a few remarks. He said that there was no rankling in the Southern heart. The South was conquered, and now accepts in good faith the results of the war, and is determined to act in a way as becomes an honorable people. Indeed! How common it is for Southrons to talk thus—and how common it is for them to act *honorably* towards the blacks and the loyal men in their own section! Shooting and murdering the helpless victims of their fierce rage is perhaps not to be cited among dishonorable acts.

Judge Kelley also made a few remarks, speaking of the time when he was a "devil" in the *Inquirer* office, and of the luxury of having a composing-stone for a bed. He always regarded the toilers of a daily paper as the greatest of human benefactors. He had nothing to say on politics, but stated that he was willing to trust the future of our country in the keeping of men of positive views. He could cordially embrace men of extreme opinions, and he despised the time-server and trimmer. The American people he regarded as the teachers of the world. "We are an earnest and radical people," he said, "and should have an earnest and radical press. He would withhold no sentiment because it will offend his Southern or Northern neighbors. Pour your Southern press through the Northern country; you of the Northern press, send your papers through the Southern country, and the truth will be arrived at. I have my own political views, and on them I intend to stand. Let my Southern friends hold on to theirs until, if theirs be right, their triumph will be reached; and we will hold on to ours, and, if ours be right, we will triumph in the end."
W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, August 20, 1866.

OUR weather, through the first half of August, has resembled that which ordinarily comes to us at the end of September. We have had a considerable fire, burning sundry buildings, horses and vessels, and 20,000 tons of coal and other merchandise. The Summer-closed theatres and churches are beginning to re-open. The Boston *Recorder* is indignant at the doubt expressed by some heterodox journal, whether Orthodox Congregationalists really accept the Westminster Assembly's Catechism as a correct expression of their faith, and points to the action of the late Boston Council as convincing proof that they do so. The city authorities have advertised for clean gravel or clay, to cover some of the slimy flats that have long been a nuisance at the South-end. An ostrich, brought by Professor Agassiz from South America, has been added to the population of the deer-park on the Common. The Managers of the Metropolitan Railroad have been compelled to reduce their exorbitant charges—at least as far as those customers are concerned who can afford to purchase tickets by the quantity. And we have to record the partial whitening of one of our chief sepulchres, the wooden balcony and cornice of Parker's *marble*-fronted spirit-selling establishment having lately been re painted.

But how can one write of the petty details of local news, while the great question is still pending, whether man, as man, shall have, henceforth, the undisturbed enjoyment of freedom and equal rights in this country, or whether class interests and class legislation shall have a temporary triumph. Strange to say, after a four years' war, in which the supporters of slavery seemed to be defeated, it now appears that the cause of freedom and justice had no practical and substantial triumph. It yet remains to be decided whether the Union shall be governed by those who have preserved it, or by those who attempted to destroy it; whether our happiness, our freedom, our welfare are to be intrusted, for preservation, to our friends or to our enemies! All sorts of outrages are still committed with impunity against the freedmen and their friends throughout the Southern States, not only by irresponsible individuals, but by United States officials. To mention one instance—a black woman in Georgia has just been sentenced to receive sixty-five lashes, on a complaint made by a white lady, in regard to a matter in which the latter was in the wrong. The decisions of Courts and of public authorities are taking this turn through the whole South. And yet President Seward and Secretary Johnson have the assurance to tell us, in a proclamation announcing the return of Texas to the Union, that "peace, order, tranquillity, and civil authority now exist in and throughout the whole of the United States of America.

It is said that Rev. Dr. Leonard Woods, late President of Bowdoin College, and a delegate from Maine to the Philadelphia Convention, remarked in relation to that body, that it seemed as "religious" an assembly as any of the ecclesiastical ones which he had been accustomed to attend. Upon this point we may safely trust to the sagacity and discrimination of the Reverend Doctor. But his choice of a Convention of such a character in which to make his first appearance in political life, together with the part played by his distinguished father, of the same name, in preventing all reform, theological or political, within the precincts of Andover Theological Seminary, give fair specimens of the relation borne by Church leaders (and of course by Churches) to the cause of freedom and equal rights in this country. Far from leading and stimulating reform—they have been the greatest obstacles in its path. Alike in Church and State, they have favored the *old* ways, the things, the parties and the methods already established in power and enjoying popularity; and they have been the most determined opponents of every new reform, seeming instinctively to fear the success of right and justice in any new direction, as a movement endangering their own position.

The very intelligent London correspondent of the *Advertiser* has lately brought out some facts tending to explain the waning popularity of the Church of England among the English people. He thinks this fact accounted for, not so much by an increase of what is called "materialism," as by the conduct of the influential classes in the Church towards the political movements which strive for the attainment of rights for the people at large. The conduct of these classes, he maintains, has a direct tendency to disgust the masses with their system, political and ecclesiastical. They so invariably side with arbitrary power when it comes into conflict with popular right, that the Established Church may fairly be called the Quadrilateral of the British Aristocracy.

To illustrate this point, the writer in question selects as an example the Earl of Shaftesbury, the leader of the party called "Evangelical," in the English Church. Pious and well-meaning, without doubt—he is, as much as any tory in the land, the advocate of aristocratic government. With the doctrines of total depravity and the holy Trinity he includes the perpetuation in England of an Established Church, the mere creature of the State. He has a deep care for the social well-being of men; but it is on the condition that they consent to be patronized, and to have their politics as well as their theology ascertained for them by others. He never appears on a public platform but as a "patron." He would give working men comfortable houses and good food, with a Bible in each room and religious tracts on every shelf; but he is among the stoutest of the opponents of those who would give them the power of choosing who shall govern them, who shall tax them, who shall punish them. He pitied the slave when slavery was a by-word against the American republic; but the moment the war broke out, and the great struggle between two forms of civilization began, he took part with the one with which his own class is particularly identified.

In regard to the cruelties lately inflicted by British officials upon the poor blacks in Jamaica, Earl Shaftesbury and his class, including the whole bench of English Bishops, are trying to screen Gov. Eyre from punishment, and it is left for extreme rationalists like John Stuart Mill and Peter A. Taylor, to procure what atonement there may be. Do you suppose, asks the correspondent of the *Advertiser*, that the workingmen are not noting these things?

Further, as to the right of the people to meet occasionally for political objects in the immense spaces of the English parks, Earl Shaftesbury is on the side of those who would restrict and silence them, and was eager to state this from his place in the House of Lords. His party, like the Puseyite party, stands in the front rank of the host arrayed against the common people—against the attempt to lift them to the true height of manhood, against every cause which demands equal justice and opposes caste.

Conspicuous among the powers which opposed the abolition of caste and slavery in this country, was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, whose Annual Meeting is to take place next month in Pittsfield. Their missions among the slaveholding Cherokees and Choctaws brought them into direct contact with our "domestic institutions," and for twenty-three years (from 1837 to 1860) they steadfastly resisted every attempt to bring the restraints of church discipline to bear upon the slaveholding members of their mission-churches. They were brought to my mind just now by the statement in the daily papers, that Gov. Pytchlinn, Chief of the Choctaw tribe, is now in Washington, with a delegation from that tribe. This name, Pytchlinn, reminded me of some disgraceful facts in the Board's Choctaw mission, which were hushed up by their missionary, Rev. Cyrus Byington, but afterwards brought out by the researches of Rev. S. C. Bartlett, then of Chicago.

One Sunday (the first "Sabbath" of 1859), a female slave was burned alive by her Choctaw mistress, both being members of Mr. Byington's mission-church at Stockbridge. The Reverend gentleman made no report of this act of slaveholding jurisdiction, and took no measures, ecclesiastical or legal, to bring the murderess to justice. When, some time after, information of this transaction was sent to the Board, they "kept dark" about it in the same manner. But the exertions of Rev. Mr. Bartlett brought out, in time, a correspondence from the Prudential Committee of the Board, and its defenders, from which it appeared—and this was the only explanation ever given of the matter—that the murderess, Mrs. Harkins, was by birth a Pytchlinn, and that the standing of the Pytchlinns and the Harkinses in the Choctaw nation was such, that an attempt to institute a process, either legal or ecclesiastical, against any one of them, "would be simply ridiculous." Six or seven months after this tragedy, the Prudential Committee voted to "discontinue" the Choctaw mission, but recommended Mr. Byington, as a faithful and worthy minister, to the Presbyterian Missionary Board, who were next to have the spiritual oversight of the Choctaws, and these continued Mr. Byington in his pastoral work.

The "American Board," whose missionaries discriminate thus nicely in regard to the adaptation of Christianity to the manners and customs of the nations in which they labor, will probably, at its approaching meeting, ask for five-hundred-thousand dollars, to carry on another year's operations: and whatever they ask, the churches which support them will grant.
NORTH.

LITERARY.

The *British Quarterly* comments upon the author of "Felix Holt, the Radical," as follows:

"George Eliot has placed herself at the head of all our female novelists, if not at the head of English fiction; and that in virtue of profound and truthful conception, of transcendent tragic power, with its obverse of genuine humor, and of almost perfect executive art. What Shakspeare is among dramatists, that George Eliot is, or bids fair to be, among novelists. If we think of the characteristics of Fielding, Scott, Thackeray and Dickens (to say nothing of female novelists like Miss Austen and Mrs. Gaskell), we shall feel that, while George Eliot is not inferior to any one of them in truthfulness, vividness, and perfect literary art, she successfully rules a world of tragic passions which they scarcely dealt with, and for the counterpart of which we must go to Lear and Hamlet. Her beauty of style, delicacy of touch, and exquisite finish of portraiture, are equal to anything in the literature of fiction; while her most tragic passions are exhibited with a broad harmony of character and color that only Gœthe or Shakspeare displays. From the very heart of human nature, alike in its quietest and in its wildest moods, she looks outward. Without violence or spasm, and with composed, masterful strength, she exhibits almost all the moods of human passion, from the tragic sorrow of Hetty, or the massive, reposeful strength of Adam Bede, to the sharp and inexhaustible art [wit?] of Mrs. Poyser. And her genius is seen as much in its lightest touches as in its most elaborate figures, in the balance and finish of her thoughts, as in their conception. It can do nothing imperfectly. We must, however, reserve our general characterizations of her great genius to a future, and we hope an early, occasion, and simply welcome now her new work, which, in various fertility and power, will sustain, if it do not enhance, the reputation won by Adam Bede. It is a grand work of art, as simple as it is great—a work full of grand imaginative conceptions, the naturalness of which may, for the moment, make us forget their greatness.

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"Felix Holt is much more than a novel; it is a thoughtful study of a noble and heroic life. The genius which gave us Adam Bede is still unquenched, and we may hope that it will surprise and delight the world with further proofs of its power."

A new instance of duplication of ideas, on a small scale, is found in a short tale, recently published in the *Galaxy*, and entitled, "The Emerald Beetles." Although it is entirely original in form, as well as in the *detail* of conception, its leading idea or plot so closely resembles that of a large and more elaborate tale, "The Palimpsest," printed several years ago in the *Knickerbocker* Magazine, that it might almost pass for a reminiscence of the same. Both belong to that, to many persons very fascinating, order of literature which, in the benighted times of Chaucer and Boccacio, would have deserved to be called marvellous, which yet with Rabelais or Wieland might have passed as mystic, but to which our impassible and irreverent age will hardly grant the epithet mysterious. The utility of such writing has been variously called into question; but of its popularity there seems no doubt; for the *Atlantic will* give the dear public one draught or two of this kind of narcotic in each volume—and the *Atlantic ought* to know what sort of physic will improve its wallet's physique, at least, if not its readers'. Among the most riotous and fanciful of these *contes affreux*, we recall, in the *Atlantic*, "The Wondersmith;" of the more poetic and enjoyable, "The Queen of the Red Chessmen," in the same Magazine; and, as one of the very chilling and crazing, "A Mystery," in *Harper's Monthly*.

Our Young Folks for September contains the first of the full-page illustrations promised in the last number. It is an "advance proof"—in wood—of a recent painting ("The Wanderer") by Wm. J. Hennesy. There is an unmistakable dramatic force in the figures of the picture; but the landscape—monotonous enough in conception—is almost lost to us by the incorrigible slipshod style of work common to American engravers. The printer has taken care to keep the shades black and the lights clean; but a little regard to the requirements of perspective in his treatment of those tree-tops would have improved the picture greatly. It is a melancholy fact, by-the-way, that since the introduction of the "Adams" press, the race (never very numerous) of thorough wood-cut printers has gradually dwindled—as even the best products of Hurd and Houghton's "Riverside Press" attest.

The matador of this number—we take it—is, the "Memoirs of a Cripple," a charming young-folks' rendering, by Dr. Wilder, of his instructive paper on the South Carolina silk-spiders, which appeared in the August *Atlantic*. The gift of talking to children has been called "the top-knot of (natural) oratory"—justly, as many a kind-hearted, but polysyllabic Sabbath-school Superintendent has found to his chagrin. Likewise, also, of writing. Dr. Wilder seems to have the rare talisman; for he has encased quite a respectable bolus of information in an attractive sugar-plum of "nice reading." Trowbridge, in "Father Brighthopes," contrives again to slip in a good moral *unawares* (which is the great essential to successful moralizing, with young folks or old); while "Captain" Hall breaks the dull ice at the outset with one of his lively cargoes of metric fun. The authors of the two continued stories show they "still live"—to the young folks' satisfaction, we wager; and the course of substantial meats is closed with a fourth visit to the artists (the kind host this time being he of the frontispiece—W. J. H). The Dessert—"Evening Lamp" and "Letter-Box"—we will not divulge,—mindful that our little friends prefer unravelling mysteries to having it done for them. We must not forget that Mrs. Stowe has saved us a real, verdant sprig of "pussy willow" through the Summer heats, which she touches off both with pen and pencil. "Grace's Friends" is accompanied by a picture of *them*, with Grace in their midst, which almost supplies the poesy lacking in the poem. There are some more "goodies," but we can't stop to name all.

"McPherson's Political Manual for 1866]" (seventeenth thousand now on the shelf), is a work, the conciseness and comprehensiveness of which, in its sphere, can hardly be surpassed. The position and character of its compiler vouches sufficiently for its accuracy. To any one who desires easy and certain access to most of the important public documents (Federal and State) and facts of the "reconstruction"—period; as Messages, Proclamations, Orders, Telegrams, Speeches, Bills, Reports, Constitutional Amendments, Platforms, Important Votes, etc.—will find them arranged and indexed in this little volume in most convenient order for reference. Besides, there is other information in tabular form. It is only to be regretted that Mr. McPherson could not be induced to extend the scope of this work beyond its present skeleton character, to embrace (what is promised of a future work) not merely documents and a synopsis of official acts, but an entire summary of events. As it stands, however, the bulk of matter it contains, compared with the size of the book (128 pages) and the low price (75 cts. in paper) forms a commendable achievement. Any one who knows aught of the Clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives need not be told that his Manual is a "live" one, and contains no "stuffing."

Demorest's Monthly for September looks bright—engravings, fashion-plates and types alike. Contributions by "Jennie June," Alice Cary, Virginia F. Townsend, George W. Bungay, and others.—Graham's *Standard-Phonographic Visitor* (Vol. II., No. 9) is, as usual, of interest and value to actual or would-be short-hand writers. It announces a rare book, the New Testament, lithographed in the "Reporter's Style," from A. J. Graham's own MS., to be published by subscription *only*.—J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, send advance sheets of "Studies on the Book of Psalms: being a Critical and Expository Commentary, with Doctrinal and Practical Remarks on the entire Psalter, by Wm. S. Plumer, D. D., LL. D." This is to be a "royal octavo volume of 1,200 pages." The typographic execution of these sheets is fine, the types possessing an aspect of unusual purity and strength. Of the writing, we prefer to speak when the book is completed. Only let it be said that Dr. Plumer's style is one of perspicuity, and his language does *not*, in this instance, suffer from the ailment mostly to be dreaded in works of this sort—"heaviness."

M. Victor Hugo's publishers, M.M. Lacroix & Verboeckhoven, retire from trade on July 1st, with filled pockets. It is said they have cleared, from the more recent works of M. Victor Hugo alone, no less than $360,000. M. Poupart Davyl, the printer, has purchased their good will, and contracts with authors. He is already in negotiation with M. Victor Hugo for a novel in 10 vols., just completed, and entitled "Ninety-Three." M. Hugo asks $100,000 for it.

OUR thanks are due to Charles Sumner, U. S. Senate, for copies of the Report of the Committee on Reconstruction, and to Thomas T. Davis, U. S. House Representatives, for a copy of Bancroft's Eulogy on Abraham Lincoln.

SUMMARY.

GENERAL NEWS.

THE Johnson National Convention sat at Philadelphia on the 14th, 15th and 16th inst., as reported on the first page of this paper.—On the 18th, a committee, appointed by the Convention for the purpose, presented to President Johnson an official copy of the proceedings. Reverdy Johnson addressed the President, explaining the importance of the Philadelphia Convention, and assuring Andrew Johnson of their obedient support. The latter replied at length, giving the usual account of "the humble individual's" endeavors to save the country from "tyranny and despotism;" calling especial attention to his virtue in not having made himself "Dictator," as he "might have" done; and repudiating all authority but that of "God and the people."—Col. Thomas G. Pitcher, U. S. A., relieves Brevet Maj.-Gen. Cullom as Superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point.—The Hon. Thaddeus Stevens was unanimously re-nominated for Congress by the Republicans of his district.—Vice-President Stephens, of the Confederacy, had come to Philadelphia, to address the public, but was compelled by sickness to return South without having accomplished his object.—The President's course relative to the Fenian movement seems to have pushed many Irishmen into the Republican ranks. A large Irish, Republican demonstration took place on the 15th at Chicago. President Roberts, of the I. R. B., has repeatedly declared himself in favor of universal suffrage, before his followers, and had been applauded by them.—Col. Thomas, the present Collector of the port of Philadelphia, intends to contest the claim of W. F. Johnston, the newly-appointed Collector, to the office, as the claimant was not confimed by the Senate. There will probably be legal proceedings in the matter, whereby the entire mooted question of the legality of repeating appointments once rejected by the Senate will be settled.—A National Republican Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention is to be held at Pittsburg, Sept. 24.—A mass-meeting of 7,000 freedmen, to consult about their interests, was held in Choctaw Co., Ala., on the 15th. The meeting was repeatedly disturbed by white persons, but no casualties occurred.—Gen. Sickles has been offered a Colonelcy and Brevet-Brigadiership in the Regular Army. It is stated he has declined it.—Gen. Whittlesey, late F. B. Commissioner in North Carolina, has been ordered to his home in New Brunswick, Me., to await the finding of the court-martial in his case.—The total number of killed at New Orleans is officially stated by the military authorities at 38; the severely wounded, 58; slightly wounded, 98.—A new "loyal" journal is to be established at Washington by the Central Loyal League.—The National Convention of Loyal Southerners is to take place at Philadelphia on Sept. 3d, not on the 5th, as before stated. Gov. Fenton, of New York, has requested Senators Morgan and Harris to attend the same.—Gens. Sherman, Thomas, Sickles, and Canby have assumed their new commands, under the recent order of the President, re-arranging Military Departments.—Maj.-Gen. J. M. Palmer, late President of the Whittlesey court-martial in North Carolina, has resigned. Subsequently, his resignation was withdrawn by the Department and he was ordered to duty on court-martial at Nashville; but, before his leaving, the Secretary of War pledged himself to accept his resignation on the 1st of September.—All opposition to the re-election of Gen. Rousseau, the "caner," to Congress, has been withdrawn.—The National Labor Congress met on the 20th at Baltimore.—The Freedmen's Bureau court-martial at Raleigh has been converted into a Military Commission, for the trial of civilians charged by Gens. Steedman and Fullerton with improprieties in connection with freedmen's affairs in North Carolina. Gen. T. H. Ruger is President.—The report from Memphis, of riotous proceedings on the part of the Sixteenth colored infantry, at Helena, is pronounced false by the officers of that regiment.—Gov. Fletcher, of Missouri, has issued a proclamation declaring that the provisions of the Registry Law will be strictly enforced in the approaching elections, and that, if necessary, the militia will be called on as a supplementary executive force.

Gov. Swann, of Maryland, appoints opponents of the Registry law, and rebels disfranchised under that law, as registrars of votes for the coming elections. A rebel triumph is hence confidently expected. The appointment of rebels, as above, is illegal.

The Mayor of New Orleans is again in full exercise of his functions, with no actual interference by the military authorities.

A meeting was held at the Cooper Union, New York, on the 15th, to listen to a statement of the present condition of affairs in Louisiana, by citizens of, and refugees from, that State, and to take measures for the relief of the surviving sufferers. Speeches were made by Thos. W. Conway, J. P. Newman, Horace Greeley, and others, and resolutions condemnatory of the President's complicity with the murderers were adopted.

RECONSTRUCTION.

The recent State elections in Kentucky and Arkansas have gone heavily in favor of the rebels.—The (rebel) State government of Texas, under Gov. Throckmorton, elected some time ago, has been installed, and the (loyal) Provisional government, under Gov. Hamilton, withdrawn, by order of the President.—The Congressional Committee's report on the Memphis riots presents evidence of the negro-hating sentiment in Tennessee. The Civil Rights Act is nullified, and Attorney-Gen. Wallace, in contempt of his sworn duty, proclaims that he will disregard it.—It is charged that the circulation of the anti-Johnson Boston newspaper, *The Right Way*, is prevented in the South, by its being taken from the mails and destroyed by Southern Postmasters, under inspiration from Washington.—Rebel incendiary fires, consuming the stores of loyal men, continue to occur at Louisville, Ky. In a recent case, the incendiaries fired three buildings in succession, and ejected a man who attempted to interfere from one of them.

D. H. Bingham, Secretary of the Loyalists' Union Committee, who called the Convention to meet in Philadelphia, September 3, has been removed from his position in the Treasury Department because of his connection with that Convention and his activity in bringing Union men from Alabama, his home, to testify before the Reconstruction Committee as to the fitness and condition of that State to be admitted into the Union.

THE Boston *Commonwealth* asks this very pertinent question: "The *National Intelligencer* taunts the loyal Southerners that they could not hold their Convention in a Southern city, and hence they go to Philadelphia. This being so, what becomes of that journal's arguments that the Southern country is 'altogether lovely' and reconstruction complete? Accepting the statement, however, as a fact, the country will not go to sleep over it, we fancy."

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THE ADMINISTRATION PRESS ON THE MASSACRE.

The subjoined extracts are significant as evidence on several points; 1. The unanimous assertions of the Administration Press, that the massacre necessarily and justifiably sprang from the action of the "Radicals," are either sincere or insincere. If insincere—that tends to prove the guilt of the President, whom they attempt thus to defend. If sincere, those assertions are an assurance that yet more violence is to be expected in case the rights of man be asserted at the South. 2. In addition to the negative proof thus afforded, *positive* proof, that further rioting and more murders are to follow every endeavor to secure justice to the negro, is given in implied and expressed threats to that effect. 3. The removal of the President from office is shown to be essential to the safety of the country and of the loyal inhabitants:

N. Y. Herald.

Aug. [illegible]—Failing in Congress to carry out their revolutionary schemes of reconstruction, in consequence of the stout resistance of President Johnson, the baffled Radicals have evidently resolved upon a system of bold and desperate expedients for the instigation of mobs and riots in the South, whereby to maintain their ascendency among the Union war elements of the North. And the more these riot-inciting Radicals South can provoke these outbreaks of Southern whites against Yankees, Abolitionists and negroes, the better they will serve the purpose of Thaddeus Stevens and his co-laborers. Their working political capital has been and must still be made up from such materials. But it is apparent, also, that from these late New Orleans riots we may look for [illegible] case to be made up for the impeachment of President Johnson. If by a general hue and cry against Andrew Johnson, as a confederate of ferocious Southern rebels and symyathizing Northern Copperheads, these coming elections can be turned against him and a Radical majority can be secured in the next Congress, then we may prepare for this threatened case of impeachment.

Surely there are facts and charges enough, and of sufficient gravity, for a Radical impeachment of the party accused. Preposterous as these accusations may be, what is the difference to the party accused if his accusers are bent upon his removal, and have the power in Congress to carry out their designs?

Aug. 6. * * These facts prove conclusively that the Radicals are responsible for the whole affray; that they assembled the illegal Convention under revolutionary leaders for the purpose of provoking a disturbance; that they organized and armed the negroes, and sent them forth to pick a quarrel with the police and white citizens, and that the bloodshed which followed was anticipated by them, and formed a part of the plot by which they hope to create a new sectional feeling at the North against the South, to break up the Philadelphia Convention, to carry the Fall elections, and ultimately to impeach the President. We doubt very much whether this "bleeding Kansas" game will again deceive intelligent voters. * *

If these riots are incited at the South they will spread, like an epidemic, to the North, and the Radicals will be the worst sufferers.

N. Y. Times.

Aug. 1.—Certain it is that Monday found New Orleans ripe for disturbance. The riot began—the negroes apparently being the aggressors, and the civil power doing no more than was proper to vindicate its authority. Eventually, the military took possession of the city, and the deplorable affair came to an end. An end only in the sense of actual riot, for occurrences like these cannot pass away without leaving bitter and perilous legacies.

The responsibility for these occurrences primarily attaches to the promoters of the movement in which they had their origin. That movement is unquestionably revolutionary. Its aim is to overthrow the Constitution of the State by the exercise of unlawful power, with the avowed purpose of securing the control of State affairs in the hands of the Radicals.

Aug. 3.—The course of the Radical press in regard to the New Orleans riot would be more tolerable if it conveyed an impression of disinterestedness or sincerity. The elevation of slaughtered negroes into martyrs might be excusable if there were any tenable ground for believing that it proceeded from a humane and an unselfish concern for an ignorant and hardly-used race. But the aim of Radical journalism is to intensify sectional bitterness, not to promote sectional harmony—to foster the feelings of anger and estrangement as between the Unionists of the North and the people of the South—to aid the purposes of those who would ride into power on the strength of a pretended sympathy with the negro, and, under the plea of protecting the blacks, would subject the majority of the whites to insult and oppression.

Aug. 6.—The difficulty was not about free speech but free fighting, and we protest against all attempts to palliate the latter under a pretence of upholding the former. There was nothing in the assembling of the Convention, or the intended arrest of its members, that involved a breach of the peace. But the Conventionists organized a mob to resist and overawe the civil authorities; and hence the conflict. Freedom of speech did not depend for its assertion upon a negro mob.

N. Y. Express.

July 31.—It is not probable that the Radicals now will persist in holding their treasonable convention, or that Gen. Baird will use the U. S. military to back it up in the face of so unanimous a public opinion.

Though the dispatches intimate that the conflict was brought on by a negro maltreating a white man, we must accept that incident not as the cause of the tumult, but the spark simply that produced the already carefully prepared explosion. The popular excitement, not only in New Orleans, but throughout the State, was very great, and it was plain to be seen that if the Radicals persisted in their plot, trouble of the most serious character would ensue. The Radicals did persist,—and as if in order all the more to exasperate the people, preliminary negro processions through the streets, with drums beating and colors flying, were encouraged. Lo! now the radical result,—the stirring up of men's blood and men's passion,—an attack upon the Convention,—the loss of several lives, and the formal inauguration, as it were, of a conflict of races in a part of the country where such a conflict is likely to be attended with the most deplorable effects.

Aug. 2.—There are a few cardinal points, which, if kept in sight, will keep the mind right on the New Orleans riot.

1. A few pocketless Northern men, living mainly on government spoils, and earnest to hold on, colluded to join with the negroes, and thus to perpetuate their domination. Their plan was black enfranchisement and white disfranchisement.

2. Their beginning was a mock constitutional Convention, dead two years ago, revised to re-work now.

3. The body guard of this Convention was negroes, got up by these few whites, and this body guard put itself into collision with the whites, and a natural explosion took place.

4. The real issue was—shall a very few white men, not residents of the soil, combine with the blacks to disfranchise the great body of the whites, and thus create a black-white oligarchy to rule the State?

5.—The agency, mis-called a "Convention," was a rebellion. The Convention died off two years ago, after establishing a State Constitution, and the regular government was working under that Constitution.

The President interfered for self-government, popular government, legal government, and if you please, white man's government. Was he not right?

Aug. 9.—The conduct of the mob toward the negroes, after the riot began, was indefensible, because it was cruel and sanguinary; but it must be admitted, at the same time, that when negroes, armed with clubs and revolvers, incite riots, they must expect such responses to such provocations. The negro's safety in this country lies in friendship with the whites, and not in revolvers or clubs.

Aug. 10.—The Louisiana "Convention" was not a public meeting, nor a popular convention, but a body once legally constituted, then *functus officio*, and revived after two years' death by an illegal presiding officer, for the especial purpose of disfranchising the white men of the State, and of enfranchising the negroes, in order to overthrow the existing State government, and substitute in its stead one of their own. The whole concern, therefore, *eo instanti*, was a rebellion, and as much needed immediate suppression as the Montgomery Confederate Convention that made Jeff. Davis President of the Confederate States.

N. Y. World.

July 31.—Armed and excited by the radical emissaries of disorder in New Orleans, a number of misguided negroes in that city yesterday brought on a bloody collision with the people and the police. That the law will triumph in New Orleans over this attempt at inaugurating a new St. Domingo, we do not doubt for a moment.

Aug. 2.—An illegally constituted convention is illegally called together, for the purpose of changing the organic law of a State, by the illegal action of a handful of factious men, and this assemblage takes place accompanied, under the direct inspiration and control of the Radical leaders in Washington and in Louisiana, by every circumstance which can possibly tend to excite and madden the popular temper of the community in which it is held. Armed processions of negroes go with it, shouting defiance, and thrusting out of their way, as all accounts, both Radical and Conservative agree, the white citizens whom they encounter. A collision ensues, shots are fired, blood is drawn, and a savage riot ensues. On the receipt of this intelligence, the President interposes to sustain the cause of "peace and order," by the hands of the soldiers of the Union under the orders of Gen. Sheridan.

Aug. 3.—Every one remembers the story of the individual who went into the *Tribune* office, some years ago, and asked for a copy of the paper containing "that article upon 'Kansas.'" The story threatens to be revived. The *Tribune* columns now teem with what it calls "The Rebel Massacres at New Orleans;" and "Bleeding Kansas," with the old stock howls and horrors, is to be repeated. The fact that this new issue turns up on the eve of the Fall elections, is conclusive proof that the whole affair was a concocted Radical scheme, conceived in Washington by Stevens, Sumner, Hahn & Co., expressly to carry those elections in the Radical interest, by dragging "Bleeding Kansas" on the boards again.

Aug. 6.—Despite the frantic ravings over what occurred in the riot, the sober second thought of the country will fasten mainly on its origin, which, beyond all question or controversy, was the Radical conspiracy to overthrow the State government of Louisiana. Had there been no Convention, there would have been no riot. The work which the Convention had set itself to do, was to displace the government of the State by illegal and revolutionary methods. * * When this conspiracy against peace and order became clearly disclosed, the local authorities did not overstep the limits of their duty in signifying their intention to suppress and frustrate it. * * Mayor Monroe would have been criminally derelict, if, after this preliminary demonstration, he had neglected to take precautionary measures against what might occur on Monday. It would have been insufferable cowardice for the officers to allow themselves to be intimidated by this threatening exhibition.

Trenton (N. J.) True American.

Every drop of blood shed at New Orleans on Monday is upon the hands of the Radicals. The men who there forfeited their lives were the victims of the devilish plottings of law-defying and Union-hating Radicalism.

The following extract is—its source being considered—remarkable for candor and moderation. But, nevertheless, it also contains the universal Administration threat—honestly enough uttered—of armed resistance to the introduction of impartial suffrage.

N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

Aug. 2. * * The proclamation of the Mayor, ostensibly designed to prevent any disturbance, was not wisely conceived, and very likely added fuel to the flame. * *

The conservative citizens of New Orleans should have taken more prompt and thorough precautions to prevent a collision, and they are much to blame for this sad result. They knew both the reckless folly of the Radicals and the excitability of the poor negroes, and they should have adopted such measures as the occasion required. Those who attacked the Convention and exhibited a ferocious thirst for blood, are the worst enemies of the South, although professing to be its most ardent friends. They take counsel always of their resentments or their passions instead of their judgment, and they are perpetually bringing reproaches upon the land they would die to serve. While there is no justification on either side for such outbreaks of popular violence, all good citizens may well join in doing what they can to remove the cause of so much trouble. We hope that those who have been determined to force upon the country a universal suffrage, without distinction of color, will see the difficulties in the way of their mad project, and will abandon it before the land is deluged with blood. Even if it could be peacefully inaugurated, wherever each of the two races were numerous and kept from commingling, it must lead, sooner or later, to the same disastrous conflict.

THE LOYAL PRESS ON THE MASSACRE.

N. Y. Evening Post.

[SELF-DEFENCE ADVISED.]

July 31.—As for the tale of a crowd of negroes armed and marching through the streets—everybody in wolf-land knows that it is the sheep who are constantly in the habit of ferociously attacking the peaceable and innocent wolves. The blacks are not likely to attack anybody—not even when they are themselves first attacked, it seems, for we do not hear of any rioters being killed. We advise the colord men of New Orleans and of the South generally to defend themselves when ruffians attack them, and to take life for life and limb for limb. That is the best way for them to secure respect for themselves, in a community which elects Monroe its Mayor. They are numerous enough; let them strike back, once, and strike hard.

[BARRABAS RELEASED.]

Aug. 1.—"All the rioters have been released," says a dispatch from New Orleans. "They have not even been pardoned," writes a correspondent, commenting somewhat bitterly upon this unhappy release.

The only persons not set at liberty are the members of the Convention, it seems. They were mobbed—that is the great and unpardonable crime in New Orleans. The sheep were in fault—those ferocious sheep, who continually put the wolves in fear of their lives.

To please the criminals and imprison their victims is not what is usually called justice. But they have queer ideas of justice in the Southern States. For instance, it is said that the Convention which was mobbed was an illegal body, a revolutionary and treasonable body even. Treason is so hateful a crime in the immaculate Southern States, that we suppose any measures, however violent, are thought justifiable against traitors. But it would, perhaps, have been better to follow the forms of law; it would have been wiser for the unhung traitors who composed the mob, to restrain the ardor of their loyalty, and to submit to see the Convention arrested by the process of law.

The preceding was written under a misapprehension. The rioters were not "released"—for they had not even been arrested.

[A CAUTION TO REBELS.]

Aug. 1.—The condemnation which the Southern leaders are bringing upon themselves is more severe, and will bring with it severer penalties, than any the courts would have decreed.

* * Every lawless act, every reckless defiance, every boastful assumption on the part of men who were rebels and traitors, only strengthens the sentiment, which is growing rapidly in the Northern States, that conciliation of traitors is a huge blunder, free pardon a deadly mistake, and severity and the strict enforcement of the laws against treason and rebellion the only wholesome or safe course.

It should be remembered that it is not yet too late to revise and reverse all that has been done in the way of reconstruction. Already the very name of pardon has become hateful to the Union-loving people, and every rebel pardoned excites new alarm and dissatisfaction. Already people begin to feel, and to say, that the rebel leaders ought not to be pardoned, that the chief movers in every State ought to be treated as the criminals they are, or at best as aliens, and, if they are permitted to stay in the country at all, should have this permission only on condition that they refrain from all part in politics,, either by speaking, writing, voting, or holding office.

N. Y. Tribune.

[PACKED JURIES.]

Aug. 13.—The way which the rioting authorities of New Orleans have taken to cover up wholesale and contrived murders, is, if possible, worse than the late massacre itself. A packed rebel jury, charged by the judge who counselled violence against the Freedmen's Bureau, and rudely set aside the Civil Rights bill, have made a report atrociously in keeping with these shameful antecedents. One-sided evidence—the testimony of those known to have aided, abetted, and taken part in the riot,—is massed together to throw the whole blame on the victims, and to vindicate the murderers. One thing will be proved by the report of the jury of assassins; not that rebels were incapable of committing murder, with or without provocation, but that they were equal to a still greater crime—that of crowding into a jury, and sitting on a judge's bench, to cast the odium of their misdeeds on the men they slaughtered. The assault on the loyal men of New Orleans did not end with the terrible and bloody victory over free speech. It remained for their enemies to take possession of a court of justice in order to cry down the survivors out of the mouths of perjurers.

Brooklyn Union.

[STATE-RIGHTS.]

Aug. 3.—The case in Louisiana is very extraordinary, for the President himself has formally set aside the State authorities, and designated a proprætor of his own to take charge of the public safety in the province. And as he has a large military force in and near the State of Louisiana, it is evident that there can be no appeal from his decision until Congress comes together in December next. This ought at least to silence the claims of the two sets of Senators and the Representatives whom a portion of the people of Louisiana have sent up to Congress. If they have no government but what the President can set aside with a word, it is plain that they are not in a situation to participate in the government of the country.

[THE VICTIMS SELF-IMMOLATED.]

Aug. 6.—The apologists for the unhung rebels of New Orleans who slaughtered Union men in the late massacre, are doing their best to throw the blame of the riot on the negro procession, which, according to their account, was a numerous body of armed and violent men. It is singular that a large number of aggressive armed rioters should have included the only ones who were killed; that the military commander should declare that all arrests could have been made without any resort to force; and, consequently, that the alleged victims of the rioters were the only parties guilty of unjustifiable violence.

Providence (R. I.) Journal, Aug. 3.

If these opening scenes of violence shall convince the North of the peril in which all that they have saved at so great sacrifice is standing, if it shall arouse them to the duty of still maintaining what they have preserved, and what they have won, the martyred blood will not have reddened the pavements of New Orleans in vain. If otherwise, if engaged by the cares of business, or absorbed in the delights of peace, they allow the political power to pass into the hands of the men who encouraged the rebellion in 1861, and who justify the expression of its spirit in 1866, they must take their choice between fighting the war over again, or submitting to the rule that would have prevailed if Grant had surrendered to Lee.

Norwich (Conn.) Courier.

Aug. 2.—If anything has been established by the results of the war, it is freedom of speech and of the press. But this is a result which the unrepentant rebels of Memphis and New Orleans, are very far from recognizing. The law of the bowie-knife and bludgeon is still regnant, and freedom of speech lies at the mercy of the mob.

There is no denying the fact that all these troubles, the outrage upon Union men, the mobbing of Union Conventions, and the shooting down of peaceable men, whose sole offences consisted in holding views of their own upon the question of reconstruction, are all attributable to the conciliatory but mistaken policy of the President.

Utica (N. Y.) Herald.

Aug. 4.—Putting power into the hands of men heated with the passions of rebellion, instead of being magnanimous, has proved cruel. Received as a *right*, the grace showed them has made them intolerant, insolent, and tyrannical. Welcomed by the loyal men of Louisiana into a participation in the State government, they greedily grasped at the whole control of affairs, excluded the loyal men entirely from office, and ended by attempting upon them wholesale murder.

Cincinnati Weekly Gazette.

Aug. 15.—Mayor Monroe and his associates, the Lieutenant-Governor and Attorney-General, who, by virtue of Mr. Johnson's transfer of the military forces to their command, have usurped the government of the State, make, unwittingly, one statement in their letters to Mr. Johnson, which annihilates all the pretended excuses for violence, to-wit: "The colored population, as a body, did not participate in the disgraceful scenes, and the freedmen in the vicinity of the riot were standing as lookers-on without being molested."

How the freedmen in the vicinity who were looking on, fared, our correspondence has described. Their color, and the suspicion of having worn the United States uniform, in the case of white men, were two signs of sudden death on the streets of New Orleans that day.

Detroit Weekly Post.

Aug. 11.—The Democratic papers generally charge that the Union men of New Orleans who were mobbed deliberately intended to be mobbed, and got up the Convention for the express purpose of being mobbed. In the language of the Detroit reconstructed rebel organ, the Convention was called for the purpose of "inciting" the Democrats to a riot, and the Democrats, knowing this Radical pursose to incite them to do a wicked and unlawful act, not only carefully prepared themselves to be "incited," and to yield to the "incitement," but actually were "incited," and did all that the most sanguinary of the Radicals desired them to do, The ease with which the virtuous rebel Democrats of New Orleans were "incited" and seduced by the plotting Radicals is one of the most remarkable things in history.

Chicago Evening Journal.

July 31.—While such scenes of violence against loyal white men and the freed colored men of the South continue to startle the country, we think it is not yet time to admit the ex-rebels to our confidence or to treat them as brethren. Each repetition of these outbreaks of rebel violence sets back and postpones the more indefinitely the day of Southern restoration—and so it should.

Chicago Weekly Tribune.

Aug. 9.—The massacre is without excuse or apology, an act of naked and savage violence against helpless and unoffending men, insignificant in numbers, and strong only in their faith in freedom and the sympathy of the loyal millions who will surely avenge their murder.

THE CANADA PRESS ON THE MASSACRE.

With "eyes that see not" and "ears that hear not" confronting one on every side, in this land of free-speech (!), it is pleasant to see such excellent comprehension of our affairs thriving under the "iron heel of the Briton:"

From the Toronto Globe, Aug. 10.

The recent bloody riot at New Orleans affords another illustration of the bitter feeling which exists at the South. The war is over, the authority of the Union re-established, and the black man emancipated; but there is left in the hearts of the mass of the Southern whites a malignant hatred towards the freedmen and towards white men who sympathize with the blacks. * *

As usual, President Johnson and his friends have managed to make this affair tell against themselves. The President, by his dispatches to the Mayor, the Attorney-General, and the Lieutenant-Governor, committed himself to the breaking-up of the convention by the city authorities, and now finds himself subject to the imputation that his haste to side with the ex-rebels encouraged the mob to commit the atrocities of which it was guilty. * * The talk about usurpation would have told at the North, if the New Orleans Radicals had been allowed to meet undisturbed; but since they have been murdered, it will do the President and his supporters little good to denounce them. The argument is now the other way, and the story of the outrage will help to defeat President Johnson's candidates at the coming elections. It is not the disposition of the North to be harsh or exacting with the South. If the ex-rebels had the wisdom to accept the result of the war loyally and fairly, they could soon make favorable terms for the restoration of their political privileges. But, in place of that, Southern mobs great and small—Southern leaders and Southern Legislatures—are constantly furnishing the Northern Radicals with new arguments in favor of a firm policy towards the South. It is not impossible that the chivalry may, before reconstruction is accomplished, educate the North up to the point of demanding and securing negro suffrage.

"All Working Well."—Gen. Sheridan, it is said, has stated in a dispatch to Gen. Grant, that the New Orleans riot was the result of a regular conspiracy, concocted by the reconstructed rebels, to get rid of the Union men of the State, by murdering them in the excitement and confusion of a mob. That there was a plan, is proved by the following official dispatch, sent by the conspirators to the Governor of Mississippi:

"New Orleans, July 30, 1866.

"Gov. B. G. Humphreys, Jackson, Mississippi.

"Excitement subsiding. Military supporting the Mayor and civil authorities. Dr. A. P. Dostie and John Henderson, Jr., two violent Radicals, killed; Gov. Michael Hahn wounded and arrested. Convention up the chimneys and other hiding-places. *All working well so far.*"

"All working well," indicates a plan. How admirably the plan worked is shown by the statement that "Dr. A. P. Dostie and John Henderson, Jr., *two violent Radicals*," were killed, and "Gov. Michael Hahn wounded and arrested;" further, that the "Convention is up the chimneys and other hiding-places." This, indeed, is "working well." The Governor of Mississippi could not but be cheered by such evidence of the excellent working of the plot. As Seward would say, it was "lovely." And the announcement that the excitement was subsiding (particularly in the case of Dostie and Henderson), was another indication of its "working well." The Convention, being "up the chimneys and other hiding-places," could not be expected to maintain their "excitement." Being up a chimney might naturally be expected to deteriorate the intensity of even a Radical's enthusiasm. The excitement of even the most Radical Conventionist must have subsided some, when the said Conventionist was personally up a chimney or other hiding-place. As for Gov. Hahn, being wounded and sent to jail probably effectually cooled *his* excitement. Blood-letting has long been considered a remedy for great mental excitement—a remedy so effectual as to be fairly entitled to be ranked as a specific. We are officially assured that it "worked well" in this case."

We take it for granted that the phrase "*all* working well," means that the police worked well; the mob worked well; the pistols worked well; the bowie-knives worked well; the brickbats worked well; the jail worked well; the killing of Dostie and Henderson, and wounding of Hahn worked well; chimneys and other hiding-places worked well; and especially that President Johnson's orders worked well; and all things worked well together in the matter of causing the "excitement" to "subside." It remains to be seen if the effect in the North will work quite as well, in the opinion of the conspirators.—*Detroit Post.*

Miscellaneous Department.

OUTWARD BOUND.

Out upon the unknown deep,
  Where the unheard ocean sound,
Where the unseen islands sleep—
  Outward bound.
Following toward the silent west
  O'er the horizon's curved rim,
Or to the islands of the blest—
  He with me and I with him—
Outward bound.

Nothing but a speck we seem
  In the waste of waters round,
Floating, floating, like a dream—
  Outward bound.
But within that tiny speck,
  Two brave hearts with one accord,
Past all tumult, grief and wreck,
  Look up calm, and praise the Lord—
Outward bound!

—*Miss Mulock.*

OLD AND YOUNG READERS.

Picking and choosing between good and bad books is an occupation that is by no means unproductive of pleasure. There is a sunny season of life at which one three-volume novel from a circulating library seems as delightful as another, provided, like the Scotchman's brandy and water, it is sufficiently hot and strong—when Mr. Owen Meredith gives as much satisfaction as Mr. Tennyson, and more than Wordsworth, and when any story that has got the adventures of a sportsman or a dog in it appears fully equal to *Tom Jones.* It may seem at the first glance as if it were a genuine loss to have got rid of this power of promiscuous feeding. But as men cease to be able to admire bad books, they find new and intrinsic sources of interest in good ones. It is something to know, and to feel sure that one knows, why Owen Meredith is poor, and why Wordsworth is not poor, and why some parts of Wordsworth are better and more admirable than the rest. The mental progress which enables people to attain to this does not by any means disqualify them for discovering much to look at in what is worthless and contemptible. Young persons, for example, have in ordinary cases a noble and vigorous contempt and dislike for what is mean. They cannot bear the thought of the wretched fox-hunter in the adjoining parish who beats his wife, and they recoil in unmitigated disgust from the independent grocer in the village, who listens to a hot and fiery gospel twice every Sunday from his chapel pew, and sands his sugar with equal regularity on the Monday. He is a nauseous, vulgar, uninteresting sight to them, and they try to banish the very thought of him.

Middle age helps one to look at the grocer in a different light, and even to get instruction and pleasure out of him. It is true he sands his sugar, and no one can dislike sandy sugar more than a middle-aged English gentleman; but from other points of view the grocer is not a despicable study. How he came to sand it first, and why it is that a man who, in his bullying and tyrannical way, is not uncharitable to the poor, or unkind to his children, does not see the harm in sanding it; and how he comes to be an Independent, and what are his views on religion and politics, and why he is in favor of marrying a wife's sister, and against flogging in the army, are all subjects that a good-tempered, middle-aged philosopher might pursue for a month. It is much the same with indifferent sermons. Perhaps the true test of a contented middle age is the able being not to mind bad sermons so very much. In spite of the hardness of the seat, and the rigid perpendicularity of the pew back, a thoughtful person can go on taking an interest in the preaching long after all interest in the preacher's discourse has come to an end.

What is his object in alluding gracefully to St. Augustine, whom he has never read, and inveighing against philosophers and skeptics whom none of his congregation ever are likely to read—whether he imposes upon himself, or on his wife and children, or his maid servants, or the bishop of the diocese; why he thinks the Propagation Society wicked, but the Church Missionary Society all that is excellent; and why, hating the dissenting minister over the way in all other respects like poison, he can still join hands with him in a good sanguinary British detestation of the Pope, may serve for endless material for inquiry. It is just the same with bad books. If a spirited young gentleman or lady once happened to learn that a novel or poem was wretchedly below par, they would be far too eager and too enthusiastic in their condemnation to tolerate it.

The philosopher who has arrived at mature years knows better than to be irritated over such a trifle. If he were once to begin being irritated over inferior poetry, he might go on being irritated all his life, and only enjoy peace of mind when he had locked himself into his library with his Sophocles or his Shakspeare. Accordingly, he is not so put out with the discovery of the defects as not to be able to recognize what is to be fairly said on the other side of the account. For instance, he can quite understand the excitement and pleasure the poor author or authoress has derived from the effort to tell us, amid all the inconveniences of metre, how much they enjoy landscape scenery of all kinds when they see it, and how they would like to love and be loved, and how happy they think they could be in heaven. The attempt to inform us of all this, or to dress up what other people have already thought about it in new and totally original rhymes, may not be very successful, but it is part of human life, and ought to be viewed with sympathy. And it will nowhere get sympathy except from those who are thoroughly middle-aged.

The sympathy bestowed by the young, who are imposed upon by all this soul-fluttering, is not worth having, for the young are very hard-hearted, and as soon as they find out a literary imposture they fling the unhappy impostor's work into the flames. The only real, valuable, genuine sympathy is that which is bestowed by those who are aware of the imposture from the first, but who still go on tolerating and hunting out the redeeming points in the impostor. The power, both in literature and the world, of taking things as one finds them, goes hand-in-hand with the power of discerning good from evil.—*Saturday Review.*

Instances of Courage in the New Orleans Massacre.—I saw a colored Corporal of an artillery regiment, apparently, walking in the middle of Baronne st., while on his right hand an infuriated crowd were chasing a freedman down the sidewalk, and on his left hand another crowd were chasing one up the sidewalk. Each crowd were firing pistols, and throwing stones and clubs at their victim. The Corporal walked in the middle of the street, in full uniform, with side arms only, as steadily and soldierly as if on drill. He had been sent on an errand by one of his officers, and was returning. It was a scene that made my heart thrill with admiration for a brave man, although he was as black as ink.

I heard a Union man in the midst of a crowd of rebel rioters, who were pounding a negro and shouting for Jeff. Davis, swear at them and call them traitors, and every epithet of ignominy that his tongue could command.

An old gray-headed Irishman, member of the Convention, named Haynes, did the same thing while passing through the crowd under guard, although they had ropes ready to hang him. He defied them to do their worst and threatened them to haunt them "wid his ghost" if they harmed a hair of his head.

One old colored man attracted my attention particularly. He walked through the mob on the sidewalk with a bundle under his arm and an iron bar in his hand. His chin was firmly set and his eyes looked daggers. No one dared to molest him.—*Cor. N. Y. Times.*

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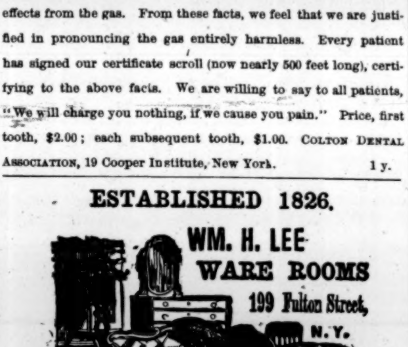

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